

More Bofors documents from Ram and Chitra

# "Gandhi Trust lawyer" in secret cover-up session

Evidence in Ardbo's hand

41

Rs.4.00

**Election process begins**

NEW DELHI, Oct. 22

NOMINATIONS for Sabha open tomorrow the beginning of a exercise in 18-year

**Bhagalpur toll rises to 232**

The Times of India News Service BHAGALPUR, November 1: Bodies the has

**Indore riot toll rises 25**

INDORE (P) Normal life in this comm capital of Madhya Pradesh is completely paralysed c large s on evening at Sidh

**Curfew in Mehsana**

AHMEDABAD (PTI) One person was killed and several others, including four police-men, were injured in group clashes, which broke out on Sunday evening at Sidh

under control. Meanwhile, maintaining the Ahmedabad

No one was firing, police said. UNI reports: At least 50 persons detained. Police

**Buta agreed to VHP's plans**

Jyoti Malhotra in New Delhi

**Tewari's upper caste vote bank**

By ABHUTOSH MISHRA The Times of India

However, Mr Tewari's hopes of support may be belied to him in 1985 because the wrath of im and Rajput the poli



Mr Tewari's hopes of support may be belied to him in 1985 because the wrath of im and Rajput the poli... considered it at a learned... his life if the existing... was touched... the Shalayas is com... leader reiterated... would not prevent the



## Muslims to resist VHP plan

The Times of India News Service

FAIZABAD, November 1.

MUSLIMS have decided to put up stiff resistance to the proposed Sri Ram temple foundation-laying programme if it was allowed on the disputed plots in the vicinity of the Babri Masjid.

According to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad programme, the bhoomi poojan is to start on November 9 and the foundation stone will be laid the next day.

About 75 companies of the para military forces are being deployed on the occasion. Meetings of Muslims are being convened in almost all the towns to mobilise them and be prepared for a direct action in accordance with the plan of the Uttar Pradesh Babri Masjid action committee.

this meeting decided to take up the matter at the international level and called upon the members of their community to send telegrams to the United Nations and Amnesty International requesting them "to use their good offices" to stop physical and cultural annihilation of the Muslims in case the shila processions and foundation-laying programme at the proposed site was not banned by October 31.

The meeting also requested the Muslims to offer special prayers in mosques from November 1 to 10 for the protection of the Babri Masjid. The meeting also expressed the need for the formation of "Squads" to counter the "butchery of Muslims".

The meeting while CPI, the CPM and T. Tripathi for their stance called upon the se

leaders and declared its determination and resolve to intercept and the transportation of bricks Ayodhya if the government fails to check the "unlawful act". The meeting also accused the administration of conniving with communal forces.

Similar meetings were held during the last four days at Mendwa (B Fatehpur (Barabanki), Ghazipur and other places. The largest turnout was at Ghazipur where about 3,000 Muslims attended.

Official sources do not rule out the possibility of violence during the transportation of the bricks to

A lady armed with a stick glares at Sena activists who indulged in stone

According to arrangements made by the authorities if the Ram shila procession is not banned by the government, it would be allowed to be reached Ayodhya through the Faizabad by-pass skipping Faizabad town from the procession route. The

# MASS LINE



of the all-India comprador class. This 'Congress culture' was the theme of Indian democracy. The status attached by a Nehru to the parliament went along with internal democracy in the Congress and the high status of Congress chiefs in the States. This was not a sign of the individual but of the times. It changed by the early sixties. The contradictions generated by the neocolonial path of development were weakening and destabilising the old consensus. The forces which had earlier been contained within the Congress were either joining up under separate political parties or trying to build up their own independent bases within the Congress. The masses were in revolutionary fervor and found articulation through Naxalbari and the CPI(M-L). This crisis was revealed through the '67 elections where the Congress lost power in a number of States. The exception of 1959, destabilising the Communist ministry in Kerala and imposing President's rule, gradually became the general rule.

The question of supremacy had to be settled among the ruling classes itself in order to clear the way to tackle the vital question of suppressing challenges to their rule. The crisis could be overcome only by deepening neocolonial penetration and removing obstacles in its way. The rise of Indira Gandhi, split in the Congress, the 'progressive' reforms of Indira such as bank nationalisation, ending of privy purses, spread of Green revolution and promotion of development schemes aimed at the basic classes in rural areas, were all part of tackling these tasks. Feudal classes with their predominantly regional bases were gradually pushed out of a position where they had some decisive say in determining all-India affairs. The all-India comprador-bureaucratic class became dominant. Within it the bureaucratic faction became predominant. The centralisation of political and economic power steadily increased. The presence of pro-imperialist lobbies became explicit. In tune with this change in 'Congress culture', Indian democracy withered and its institutions decayed. New political alliances sidetracking strong nationality based political forces and dominant castes (earlier contained within the Congress) were forged by the Congress led by Indira to formally dispose with the old consensus. Open use of fascist force to win elections (Bengal and Tripura) supplemented these alliances. The Emergency was the ultimate step in this direction. And the JP movement, later transformed into the Janata Party, was its logical opposite. It was an attempt to recreate Indian democracy outside the Congress; to form a new Congress, a new consensus in the good old style.

The debacle of both the Congress associated with Emergency and of the Janata Party which replaced it pinpointed the growing constraints faced by the ruling class in evol-

ving an effective united political strategy. The Emergency exposed the risks in resorting to naked force as the only way to rule. It actually speeded up the process of drawing in the masses, including the middle classes, into political life on a large scale and strengthened their aspirations for a genuine democratisation of society. But the Janata experiment totally failed to satisfy this and only helped to sharpen disenchantment with existing institutions. The failure of the Janata experiment is usually attributed to the opportunist clash of personalities. How could a clash of personalities sabotage a grand effort to reestablish Indian democracy unless this experiment was flawed from the very beginning? Like the Congress the Janata Party also contained differing class interests. But, unlike the Congress, the hegemonic grip of the all-India ruling class was not consolidated in the Janata Party. Moreover, the other main partner, the rural bourgeoisie from the various nationalities, had acquired a lot more strength. The old consensus represented by the 'Nehru era' of the Congress and Indian democracy was unsatisfactory for the all-India compradors and these new classes. An attempt to reestablish it was doomed to fail just as much as the attempt to do away with all consensus through fascist rule had failed. This was the basic theme underlying the chaos and vacuum of the Janata period which helped the Congress to come back to power on the slogan of a 'government that works'.

And how did it work? By openly naming the real threat faced by the all-India bourgeoisie: the challenge to 'national integration' posed by the classes which had emerged through the very process of neocolonial transformation. It repeatedly stressed that aspect of the polity; the state structure and the economy had to be addressed from the stand of recognising and tackling this threat. Keeping the lessons of the Emergency in mind the Congress no longer denied the need for a political system which took up the task of consensus formation. But it was clear that continuing the old one, the existing system of parliamentary democracy, would be dangerous. In its place it proposed a presidential system. The Congress was calculating that the new system would satisfy the needs of establishing the hegemony of the all-India ruling class on the basis of a higher degree of centralisation and a consensus subject to it. The presidential system was to be the total answer to the threat to Indian national integration; unhampered use of a highly centralised state machinery and simultaneous maintenance of a forum to draw in the local exploiting classes and upper strata of the dominant castes. While pushing this proposal Indira Gandhi also inaugurated the departure from a secular pose and move towards an open identification with Hindu

(to next page)



revivalism. In the economic field a new level of neocolonial restructuring was initiated with the IMF loan to boost up the lagging economy and strengthen the all-India bourgeoisie vis-a-vis the new emergent classes based in the nationalities.

But the trend of intensifying national contradictions had already picked up a momentum which could not be checked by such schemes. The shift in the Indian political scene was clearly demonstrated by the fact that Indira's new scheme met defeat at the hands of forces based in the nationalities. The section of the ruling class politicians who tried to oppose Indira's plans could only repeat the old theme of the Janata Party: democracy Vs autocracy. They simply missed the point that the issue at stake was one of redefining this democracy. On the other hand the Akalis in Punjab, the Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, or the AASU in Assam pinpointed the key issue. The isolated phenomenon of militant national struggles increasingly became a general rule. The defeat of the Congress by the new born Telugu Desam in the 1983 Andhra Pradesh election was not a chance happening. It declared the arrival of regional parties in a fullfledged way; parties which based themselves on nationalities and succeeded because of this base. The backlash caused by the dismissal of the NTR government only established this arrival beyond doubt. At the other end, the marginalisation of the Akalis by the Khalistani militants leading upto Operation Blue Star and its aftermath, forcefully pointed out the dire need of settling the question of restructuring the political system.

The last 5 years of Rajiv Gandhi's government were marked by the attempt on the part of all shades of the all-India ruling class and of the national bourgeois classes in the nationalities to come up with a viable answer to this question. After consolidating its position through the '84 elections, the Congress resumed its search for a way to restructure the political system. But first it had to tackle the immediate threat posed by militant national struggles. It sought to isolate and suppress them by conceding some ground to the regional political parties. The season of accords were on. Soon enough, the season of their getting unstuck followed. Rather than marginalising the militant movements the isolation of regional political parties which went in for accords with the Centre was accelerated. The Congress had calculated on gaining time till it could build up a strong position through the successful implementation of neocolonial restructuring termed as the 'New Economic Policy'. It needed regional parties to hold the militant national struggles in check. But it really aimed at whittling down their base in the long run through economic and political means and finally reasserting itself. When the accords fell through these

calculations collapsed and along with that Rajiv's position within the Congress was weakened. An attempt to aggressively face up to this defeat was made during the Tamil Nadu elections. But severe defeat and crisis in the Congress were the results. Regionalism came up within the Congress itself and the all-mighty central leadership had to surrender before it.

The circle was completed. The Congress which had set out to eradicate regionalism and establish a higher level of centralisation through Indira Gandhi stands in danger of being transformed into a coalition of regional forces under the leadership of her son. For the time being this has been averted but the danger remains. The open acceptance by a section of the ruling class of the need for a coalition government at the Centre which includes regional parties, of the need to form a new consensus by formally sharing power with the new emergent classes through the National Front, guarantees that it will remain alive. The Panchayat Bill introduced by the Rajiv government tries to address the threat of the intensifying national contradiction, its reflection through the National Front and the growing power of regional based forces within the Congress, by proposing an alternative consensus. Assigning an important role to the panchayats in neocolonial transformation, promising them seizable resources and linking up all this to direct Central supervision and patronage, the proposed Panchayat reforms tries to cut into the base of the regional parties (the main pillars of the National Front) and regional forces coming up within the Congress. The States, which more or less represent nations, will be bypassed in this scheme. Thus, though the new emergent rural bourgeoisie will be integrated into the lower levels of the power structure, the consensus incorporating them will not operate between the all-India ruling class and local classes existing as national entities. In fact it will try to dissolve these entities within a maze of local class/caste interests all of whom are dependent on the Centre. The National Front presents its programme of restructuring Centre-State relations in opposition to this scheme. It starts from the position that national interests and their political manifestations cannot be eliminated. They must be accommodated under the hegemony of the all-India ruling class. The upper strata of the new exploiting classes in the nationalities must be absorbed into the comprador class. Through this a new consensus can be formed and Indian democracy can be revived to carry on its designated role. Thus national peoples now on the path of struggle can be brought back into the stifling embrace of parliamentarism.



The significance of the coming elections lies in the fact that such clashing alternative proposals on restructuring the political system on redefining Indian democracy, have become the central issues of debate for the first time. Within the field of bourgeois politics, the debate on democracy has finally lost its abstract, foreign nature. It is no longer a question of checking the autocratic tendencies of some individual or of aping this or that model. The issue of democracy is now grounded in the real question of the form to achieve democratisation in the concrete situation existing in India. Of course none of the bourgeois parties will pose the issue explicitly. None will point out that the question of democratisation is tied up to the question of the real power of the national peoples. None of them are interested in such genuine democratisation or the national liberation struggle it calls for. But the rising tide of national struggles has forced them to enter into a country wide public debate which revolves around this very question.

While this is the central issue of the coming elections it is not the sole one. The Bofors scandal and the Babri Masjid controversy will loom large. But are these questions incidental to the central issue? Let us examine the Bofors scandal. Corruption in high offices is nothing new. What makes Bofors so important, is its heavy exposure of the imperialist connections of the Indian ruling class at a time when it is shouting about its role in defending national integration and is posing as an independent power. The Indian compradors have always posed as a breed different from their counterparts in other 3rd world countries. Getting stripped of this image and being exposed as a bunch of Marcoses at a time when it is desperately trying to tackle serious internal challenges is not a small thing. Particularly, when the scandal touches off a mud slinging contest where each attacks the other by revealing secret Swiss bank accounts. All this, apart from the interpenetration of such corrupt deals like the Bofors one with the infight within the compradors.

The Babri Masjid controversy again touches on the question of Indian national integration. The Congress had abandoned its secular pose and promoted the Viswa Hindu Parishad during Indira Gandhi's last term. Open promotion of Hindu revivalism was seen as the best ideological weapon to bolster the Indian nation. It paid rich dividends but it has also accelerated the alienation of religious minorities and Dalits. Its limited value in blocking the growth of national struggles was proved even in the Hindi belt—ex. Uttarkhand. Not only that it has taken the lid off caste

contradictions within the ruling class (the Brahmin/Rajput infight). It is also threatening to emerge as an independent force since the ruling class can't fulfill its aspirations in the promised manner due to these problems. The failure of Rajiv's Punjab and Kashmir policies have intensified this threat. Yet the ruling class and its political parties can't abandon it — there is no other ideological prop for an Indian nation. So now they are trying to make it acceptable. This is the approach underlying the positions of the Congress-I and the National Front on the Babri Masjid issue. Both of them accept the Hindu revivalist demand to build a temple there. But they would like it to be done without actually demolishing the masjid and with the sanction of a 'independent third party' like the judiciary. So the Congress allows and helps the VHP to go ahead with its revivalist programme while paying lip service to the fight against communalism etc. It wants to use the communal carnage unleashed by the VHP's brick marches to terrorise the Muslims and make them support it in the elections. On the other hand the National Front vaguely talks of an 'amicable solution' and appeals to the VHP to postpone its programme so that it can openly unite with the BJP and the Left parties to topple the Congress. The point to note is that the two extreme positions, held by the openly revivalist BJP and the awowedly secular CPM-CPI Left front respectively, have had no difficulty in finding a common meeting ground through the National Front despite the VHP insisting on going ahead with its programme.

The role played by the CPM-CPI Left front is particularly obnoxious. Though they keep talking about isolating the BJP and other communal forces, their real plank is one of absorbing Hindu revivalism in a sanitised form. Though they talk about defeating the Congress, their real aim is to cut it down to a size where it can form a government only with Left support. Though they talk about the growing dependence of the economy on 'western imperialism', their governments are actively wooing multinationals and NRIs. Unlike the past, there is nothing much in their platform on foreign affairs. The collusion between the imperialist blocs and the rapid pace at which pseudo-socialist structures are being dismantled in the Soviet bloc have snatched away this familiar device.

So this is the election scene. Except for renegades like the VM group, most of the Marxist-Leninist groups will be boycotting the elections. But if they fail to address the key issue, the ruling class proposals on restructuring the political system, and simply dismiss them as conspiracies to divert attention from some su-

contd. on p19



# Punjab

## Repression And resistance

"Where there is repression, there is resistance". This dictum of Mao is coming true in the case of Punjab. As for the scale of repression, reports appearing in some sections of press speak themselves about it. Hardly any day passes when 5 to 10 "dreaded terrorists" are not killed in the "encounter" with the "security forces" and dozens arrested with a "large quantity of ammunition". But that is not all. What is going on in the rural areas of Punjab in general and Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur districts in particular, is not fully reported in the press. The heavily armed police parties go to the villages, "suspected harbourers" of "terrorists" are rounded up, and then nobody hears about them. If anybody dares to inquire about it then, in the vocabulary of police, he is "duly rewarded" for it! Numerous cases have been reported where village elders (the whole panchayats) were abused, insulted, humiliated and severely beaten in the police stations (and in many cases in the village itself) for enquiry about the fate of those arrested.

The main objective of this fascistic pattern of repression is to instill fear in the minds of the people and to make them docile. However what the bloody rulers are getting is entirely opposite. Two distinct features of the recent situation clearly reveal the mood of the masses. One is the ever increasing rate of attacks on the armed forces by the Khalistani militants. Police parties are daily ambushed and they suffer heavy casualties. There reports are either totally blacked out or underplayed due to obvious reasons. This campaign of ambushes has such a terrifying effect upon the armed forces

that they not longer dare to come out of their bases after dark. This fact has been admitted by J.F. Rebeiro himself. The other new feature of the situation is that instead of being cowed down, more and more people are coming forward to speak and struggle against the state repression. Two successful Punjab bandhs against state repression within a short span of two months clearly reveal the mood of the people. First a call to stop the road transport given by Punjab Human Rights Organisation (PHRO), Punjab Nari Manch, Punjab Students Union, BKU and Punjab Revolutionary Front to express the resentment against repression on women, was virtually converted into a complete Punjab bandh on April 30. Then a completely successful Punjab bandh was observed on June 30 at the call given by AISSF, PSU, PHRO, PRF, Punjab State Committee of CRC, CPI(ML), BKU and some other democratic organisations. Encouraged by the success of these state level actions, the anti-repression movement is acquiring a more organised shape. Some incidents are listed below indicating the new emerging trend.

**\*\* Manjit Singh Pappu, a 19 year Dalit youth belonging to the Khalistan Commando Force was**

picked up by police in plain clothes from the newspaper stall at the general bus stand of Gidderbaha town of Faridkot district at 10 a.m. on July 15. He was immediately taken to the local police station where a revolutionary activist of BKU, Com. Deva Singh happened to see him. Pappu was tortured to death in the local police station itself and his dead body was taken to some other place (over 30 kms from Gidderbaha) where the drama of fake encounter was enacted. Com. Deva Singh acted promptly to mobilize the people against this gross injustice. He prepared a handwritten poster and over 100 copies of it were pasted throughout the area exposing the lie of "encounter". Being an eye witness, he narrated the whole story of arrest and elimination of Pappu. The police arrested Com. Deva Singh alongwith another activist of BKU on the night of July 18. They were taken to the police station and were brutally tortured for 3 days. Deva Singh's leg-bone got fractured because of severe torture. On hearing the news of the arrest and torture of Com. Deva Singh the people of the area came into action. They assembled in the courts of the local S.D.M. and started raising angry slogans. A demonstration was staged in the town in which over 100 women participated. A mass deputation went to the district police chief to demand the immediate and unconditional release of Deva Singh. The SSP was so arrogant that he refused to listen and flatly refused the arrest of Deva Singh. The revolutionary forces of the area gave a call for a complete strike in the local town on July 22. Overnight the town was converted into a police camp. All the passages to the town were blocked. Two revolutionary activists were arrested early in the morning on July 22. But



seeing the tide of resentment rising, the police authorities made a hasty retreat. Deva Singh was immediately released. A rally was held in the home village of Deva Singh the same day where Deva Singh reiterated his resolve to continue the struggle against injustice. On August 7 a mammoth conference was held at Gidderbaha which was addressed by Justice A.S. Bains (Chairman of PHRO), Ajmer Singh Lakhowal (BKU Chief), Malwinder Singh Malli (Editor, Paigam), Dr. Jivanjot Kaur and half a dozen other speakers. The people resolved to continue their struggle against state repression.

\*\* Diverse forces united to form a co-ordination committee against state repression in Ropar district when the police killed two Sikh youths in fake encounter on July 24. The committee gave a call for Ropar bandh on July 26. A complete bandh was observed in the whole district. On July 25, some two hundred strong demonstration was organised at Kharar (in Ropar district) under the leadership of A.S. Bains to secure the release of some illegally detained youths. The police resorted to lathicharge on the demonstration which included dozens of advocates. A specific feature of this emerging trend in Ropar is that the Movement against Repression includes different forces — both pro-Khalistan and anti-Khalistan, both Sikhs and Hindus.

\*\* A student of Punjabi University, Patiala was arrested on the night of July 22 by police for "interrogation". Immediately several hundred students gathered in the residence of VC and demanded the immediate release of their colleague. Next day complete strike was observed in the university. Papers were boycotted. The police released the student.

\*\* An employee of Punjab Roadways, Chandigarh was arrested by the police for his "connection" with the "Khalistanis". The police took him to an undisclosed place and subjected him to severe torture. Employees of Roadways went on a lightening strike and the police was forced to release the arrested employee.

\*\* BKU staged massive dharnas at all the district headquarters on July 24 to raise voice against state repression.

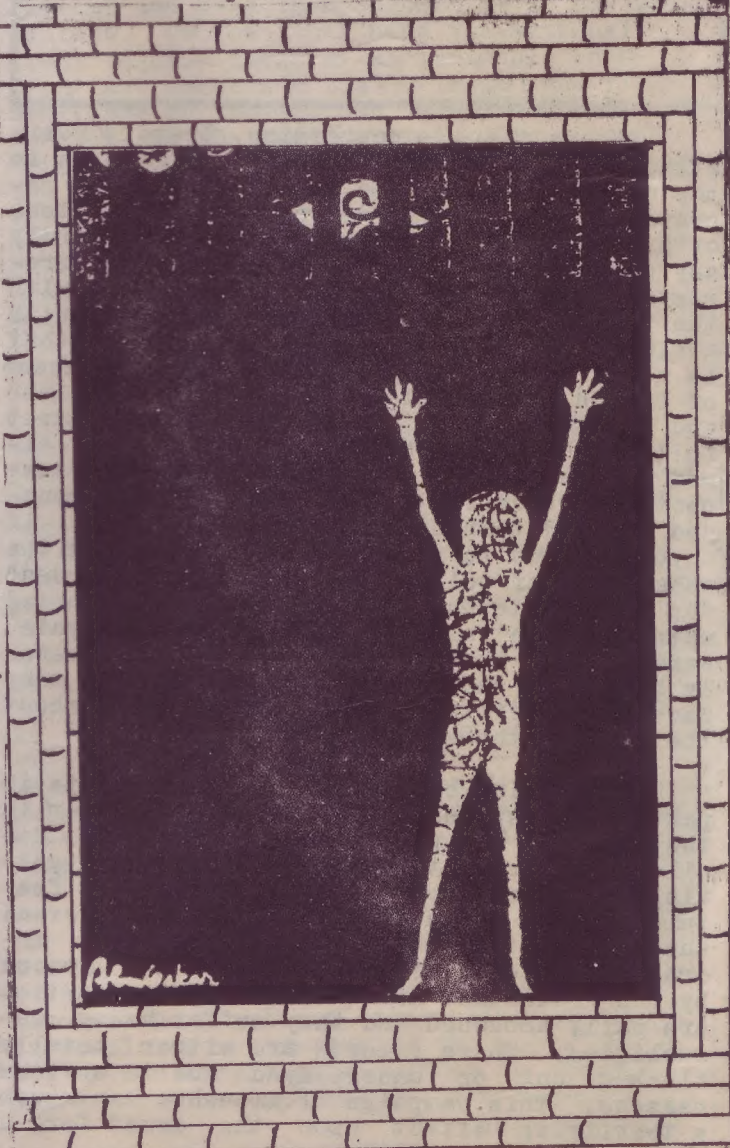
\*\* Police tortured to death a village Sarpanch of Dhatt village in Hoshiarpur dist. According to police he was a "dreaded terrorist". A wave of resentment spread throughout the area and thousands of people mobilised to condemn the ghastly act.

\*\* Dara Singh, a 55 year old peasant of Varnala village in Amritsar dist. was taken out of his sleeping room in his farmhouse on the night of August 6. He was shot at point blank range in the presence of his younger brother by the police. His brother was warned to remain silent. But the younger brother narrated the whole story to the people of his vi-

llage in the morning. A protest movement spread out in the area and people assembled in the SDM court in thousands and raised angry slogans.

\*\* Desh Punjab Niyaya Front, an organisation of Hindu Punjabis is actively participating in all these protest actions. It has made a very good impact on the political situation. Even some Sikh fundamentalist forces have welcomed this friendly gesture of "Hindu Punjabi brethern".

\*\* A campaign was launched to oppose the entry of S.S. Ray in the Punjabi University, Patiala on August 10. Ray was supposed to preside at an official function in the university. DPSU put up hand-written posters on all the strategic locations in the University. University authorities immediately rushed to contact the DPSU leaders to persuade them to desist from any "untoward incident". The programme was delayed by several hours and the students responded with the active boycott.





## KASHMIR

nationalism. Farooq has only followed the path already opened up by Barnala and the Akalis in Punjab.

In a situation where the protection of 'Indian integration' and the promotion of Hindu revivalism as its ideological prop is a dire necessity for the all-India ruling class, even a moderate voicing of national interests is not acceptable to the rulers in Delhi—particularly so when it is done in a State with a recent record of a militant struggle for national liberation and that too where a religious minority is dominant. When a largescale demeaning of national culture is officially sanctioned by rigidly keeping Kashmir in the slot of a tourist exhibit earning foreign exchange for Delhi and sharpens the sense of economic deprivation, when even the slightest protest for civic amenities is dubbed as a pro-Pakistani sabotage, when incidents like banning of slaughter of goats on the occasion of the Hindu god Krishna's birthday become common-place in Kashmir with a majority Muslim population, it is quite natural that the 'moderates and secular' parliamentarians will be pushed aside by militant youth inspired by Islamic fundamentalism and hatred towards Hindu India. The expansionist ambitions of the Pakistani rulers who already control a part of Kashmir only goes to strengthen this turn.

### A QUISLING CONFESSES

Don't you feel that this accord was done after humiliating you and thereby humiliating Kashmir?

Whether humiliation or anything else, I am of the opinion that the strongest ties have to be had with the Centre.

But when you won this election in 1983 you represented the whole of Kashmir..

Did Delhi accept it? I couldn't get a damn thing done here. Don't you think it was necessary to give that sacrifice for the betterment of these people?

- From an interview with Farooq Abdullah, published in Sunday Observer, August 27.

### TERROR OR SUPPORT ?

The government likes to think that it is merely fear that silences witnesses and provides shelter to the terrorists, who have to change their hideouts every other day, but privately most politicians admit that the underground leaders are riding a wave of sympathy. Even shopkeepers who have been forced to close their shops almost every day for two weeks in the midst of the tourist season talk about the exploits of the underground leaders almost with affection. Children treat them as heroes and assist with pranks like putting placards around the necks of stray dogs which say 'Indian dogs go home'.

— Sunday Observer.  
August 27.

The dead end facing the militants is revealed in their very success, the wide spread celebration of the Pakistani independence day and commemoration of Zia Ul Huq's death anniversary. The status of Pakistan occupied Kashmir is in no way different from Kashmir under Indian occupation. The struggles in Sind show that the Pakistani rulers are equal to the Indian rulers in suppression of national people. Within Kashmir itself, the recent outbreak of struggles in Ladakh pitting the Buddhist tribes against the Kashmiri Sunni Muslim domination further indicates that the ideology and politics adopted by the militants are basically incapable of leading the cause of Kashmiri national liberation. The long-standing demand for regional autonomy of Ladakh has now turned into a struggle for seperation from Kashmir. The centuries old inter-religious amity and family ties are threatened and the Ladakhi struggle is coming up as a Buddhist struggle—thus providing good opportunities for ruling class intrigues. Significantly, reports indicate that the Shia Muslims are supporting the Buddhist tribal peoples demand.

The question before all the people of Jammu and Kashmir is that of independence from all external aggressors and exploitation. The JKLF had started out with a commitment to this cause; but at present it seems that illusions of a Pakistani supported 'independence' has replaced this. To those genuine in their support to the just cause of the Kashmiris this is the real concern.



ON AUGUST 28TH POLICE DETAINED 68 PEOPLE AT NAGPUR FOR TRYING TO BURN AN EFFIGY OF MANU IN PROTEST AGAINST MOVES TO INSTALL HIS STATUE ON THE PREMISES OF THE RAJASTHAN HIGH COURT AT JAIPUR.

The permission to put up a statue of Manu in the high court premises, had been granted by a magistrate. The local Lions Club, representative of big business and traders, had sponsored this project. Ambedkar Vichar Manch, a local Dalit organisation, intervened and got a stay against this plan. They charged that this move to glorify Manu, the ideologue of Brahminic caste-feudal slavery, is nothing but a gross violation of the promises given by the Constitution about equality and fraternity. Soon after that, the Hindu Suraksha Samiti, containing members of almost all parliamentary parties, also got a stay against this order.

## NAGPUR

# Manu on trial

The Rajasthan government and the 'Lions' masters of this caste-Hindu wild life, tried to plead innocence by claiming that they were not aware of the danger of sparking off a caste-war. This touches the heights of hypocrisy! Can any upper casteist Hindu be unaware of what Manu stood for when they practice his evil dictates in their daily lives?

Why the statue of Manu? Why that too in the high court campus? Manu was the ideologue and law giver of Brahminic-caste feudal slavery and he is known in history for codifying the laws for caste-feudal male chauvinistic hegemony in his 'Manu Smriti'. The installation of Manu's statue in the high court campus was meant to be a symbolic and explicit declaration that our judiciary or the law of the land has its own "past glory" and that it still upholds and continues the legacy of casteist-male chauvinistic fascist law system whose pioneer was Manu.

The protest at Nagpur had been organised by Navjawan Shakti Sanghatana, Bahujan Sangharsh Samiti and other democratic forces including Dalits' and women's organisations. They had planned a protest rally, demonstration and burning of an effigy of Manu. On Aug. 28th a 200 strong demonstration marched

through the roads of Nagpur city and reached at Zansi Chowk, culminating in a protest meeting. Various speakers condemned the move to install the statue as a planned conspiracy to restore casteist-male chauvinistic Brahminic rule and to reconsolidate the 'Shetji-Bhatji' hegemony in a changed reality. Meanwhile the police arrested 8 demonstrators, who were bringing effigy of Manu, on their way to the rally. As soon as news reached the meeting place, demonstrators marched to the police station demanding immediate release of the arrested people. They declared that burning an effigy is not a crime and the seizure of Manu's effigy is a violation of the right to protest and is a casteist act. The police arrested 68 demonstrators but later on they were forced to release them. Manu Virodhi Abhiyan Samiti has declared its plan to continue the protest campaign by burning Manu's effigy in various parts of the city to mobilise public opinion in favour of struggle against the Hindu revivalist move to glorify and restore the casteist legacy of Manu.

Revivalist moves, such as plans to restore Manu, calls for serious attention. One should analyse these developments in more deeper manner. It is fact that while on the one hand the ruling class is rapidly changing the old feudal relations at the instance of imperialist forces, at the same time they are trying to utilise Hindu revivalism and all sorts of backward thinking to project the idea of the historical evolution of a Hindu nation (i.e. Indian nation). This dubious role of the ruling class is not contradictory but reveals their dependency on imperialism and unwillingness to democratise society. Because of the imposed, reactionary nature of the transformation taking place in each nationality, new socio-economic relations and degenerated, alien values are developing fast. Old customs, traditions, religious beliefs, rituals and cultural values are losing their relevance in the face of changing reality. Yet they are not eliminated but remain and became rallying ideological symbols of the frustrations and tensions generated by neo-colonial transformation. This forms the breeding ground of religious fanaticism or religious nationalism. Its social basis is the urban/rural middle class sections of the upper and middle castes.

This can be clearly seen in the case of a comparatively backward nationality like Rajasthan, where the political-economic grip of hitherto dominant feudal castes like the Rajputs and Brahmins has weakened and they are trying to overcome this situation. The Deorala incident of Roop Kanwar's 'Sati' and the massive mobilisation by militant Rajput youths in support of 'Sati' as the glory of Rajputana is a glaring example of this phenomenon.

contd. on p10



Vaikom was the venue of the historical 'Temple Entry March' of the '20s, an important milestone in the anti-caste struggle of Kerala. While the masses rose to the occasion by attending the public meeting in vast numbers, the CPM led Kerala government went berserk to trample on the history of Vaikom and prove their newfound allegiance to Hindu revivalism.

The September 1st programme had been preceded by a month long state-wide propaganda campaign which roused great interest among the Dalits and progressive people from other castes fed up with the growing casteist-communal pampering of parliamentary parties. The activists of the Adhasthitha Navodhana Munnani had to face the intimidation of CPM and RSS gangs at a number of places. In Chembu, near Vaikom, their propaganda squad was attacked by a CPM-DYFI gang. On the day of the protest meeting the police came prepared to create provocations and somehow or the other prevent the burning of the 'Manusmriti'. First they tried to frighten the ANM activists by claiming that the RSS was planning to attack them. When that failed, a police inspector and some constables disrupted the public meeting and declared that they were arresting everybody. This was rebuffed by the organisers who demanded their ban orders. The police retreated in the face of this determined position. But they arrogantly declared that they would never allow the burning of the 'Manusmriti', come what may. As the meeting went on, they started intimidating the masses who had gathered at the meeting place and encircling the activists of the ANM and Manushi Women's Liberation Organisation (MWLO). Repeated attempts were made to provoke a clash. Bags were searched, people pushed around and press reporters were prevented from taking photos. In between, the police also 'succeeded' in seizing some petrol etc. meant for burning the 'Manusmriti'. But their relief over the successful outcome of their search operation was shortlived. As soon as the public meeting ended, and the whole area thundered with slogans the 'Manusmriti' went up in flames, to the enthusiastic cheering of the masses who were thoroughly angry with the police.

Activists of the MWLO, who set fire to the hated symbol of savarna-patriarchial values, bore the brunt of the police attack. Sarada, convenor of the MWLO, was singled out for a brutal attack. But the police soon got a taste of their own medicine. Even while they succeeded in arresting a number of people from the spot, 17 cops were despatched to the hospital. Most of the activists were able to escape the police with the help of the masses. The remaining arrests took place from the government bus stand with the help of special branch and

ON SEPTEMBER 1, THE LDF MINISTRY'S POLICE LAUNCHED A VIOLENT ATTACK ON A LARGE ASSEMBLY OF DALITS, WOMEN ACTIVISTS AND REVOLUTIONARIES WHO HAD GATHERED AT VAIKOM (KOTAYAM DISTRICT) TO BURN THE 'MANUSMRITI' AND PROTEST AGAINST THE REVIVAL OF BRAHMINIST DEMONS LIKE KALADI SANKARAN. CHILDREN WERE TRAMPLED UPON, WOMEN WERE BRUTALISED AND OVER 60, INCLUDING K. VENU (SECRETARY, CRC, CPI-ML), K.M. SALIMKUMAR (CONVENOR, ADHASTHITHA NAVODHANA MUNNANI), SARADA, (CONVENOR, MANUSHI WOMEN'S LIBERATION ORGANISATION) AND ADV. A.X. VERGHESE (VICE-PRESIDENT, MAY DAY WORKERS' CENTRE), WERE ARRESTED UNDER TRUMPED UP CHARGES.

from the hospital where some of the injured had been admitted.

The newspapers in Kerala had been featuring reports on police brutalities, almost on a daily basis. Yet the Vaikom lathicharge was practically blacked out, even though

## — The modern guardians of — brahminism

press reporters had been manhandled and their cameras smashed. The grip of Hindu revivalism was evident. As the news of the attack and arrests spread, protest meetings, demonstrations and picketings took place in various districts. In Cannanore 2 government buses were blocked and smashed up. Defying the government's threat, the 'Manusmriti' was again sent up in flames. While the CPM shamelessly tried to cover up its Dalit-women suppression by branding the Vaikom development as a 'Naxalite' attack the RSS tried to play clever by claiming that they had no quarrel over the burning since 'Manusmriti' was not a religious text.

The burning of the 'Manusmriti' by the ANM-MWLO activists was the declaration of initiating a conscious caste annihilation struggle. The enthusiasm it generated among the Dalits, women and progressive sections of the masses and the rabid attack of the rulers clearly indicates that the blow was well directed. The LDF ministry and other bourgeois parties are in a hurry to erase all memory of the Vaikom incident. All the arrested were immediately released on bail to diffuse any further mobilisation. But the struggle initiated at Vaikom will not die out.



The 1200th birth centenary of Kaladi Sankaran was celebrated by the Rajiv government with great importance. The spot fixed for the main ceremony by the cultural department of the Kerala LDF government was also of great significance—the Advaita Ashram at Kaladi. The Sankar Dayal Sharmas, the chief of the Kanchi Kamakodi Mutt, the Sankaracharya of Puri, and well known 'Marxist' intellectuals like EMS participated in the ceremony. EMS won the fulsome praise of Sanatanis like Sukumar Azhikode and thrilled the hearts of the savarna Hindus by inaugurating the first seminar lighting a lamp before a decorated portrait of Adi Sankaran.

Obviously all those who participated in the seminar showered praise on Sankaran. They asserted that he was the greatest philosopher ever seen by the world. EMS declared that respecting Sankaran is the duty of a communist. He even went on to add that Sankaran who had attained the heights of Indian

Seeing this Sankara bhakti of EMS and his disciples, the protagonists of the Hindu nation like the RSS and BJP have tried to make fun of them; though, no doubt, they are pleased by it. They believe that Sankaran's ekatma philosophy (monism) will give a strong foundation for their concept of a Hindu nation. Advaitism (non-duality) is an apt philosophy for national integration. It favours the political stand advanced by the Hindu nation chauvinists—'Language, custom, way of life : all these may be different. But we are a single nation.' It goes along with 'unity in diversity'. Diversity is not everlasting. The oneness of Arsh culture is the only eternal, unlimited, single and integral thing. This is the integrationists' mantra for binding multinational India which underlies their championing of Sankaran. This is the vileness EMS tries to hide behind his new commentary on Sankaran. The CPM is a bit hedgy of openly admitting that it has become a trumpeteer for the stinking Arsh culture at a time when powerful challenges have

**emSankArAn nAMboODIrIpAd:**

**the abinava sANKARA**

**K M Salimkumar**

philosophy through his invaluable contribution was even equal to Hegel, Marx and Engels. The focal point of Sankaran's philosophy was 'Brahmam Satyam Jagat Midhya'.\* In the view of EMS, if this is true then this also means that there is no god. In his view, Sankaran had reached the very thresholds of materialism and thus had actually posited the relevance of materialism. The LDF chief minister went a step further and called for liberating Sankaran from the iron clutches of religious fundamentalists and sanyasis. The 'Deshabhimani' (Malayalam mouthpiece of the CPM) wrote appreciations of Sankaran's dialectical methodology and his objective approach in ontology. It said, "The Vedanta interprets Brahma as 'nityavasthu' (eternal thing). The word 'vasthu' (thing) is itself used in Vedanta philosophy as synonymous to Brahma. If viewed in this light, one can see the relevance of comparative study of Advaita vedanta philosophy and Marxist philosophy known as scientific materialism." Yet another CPM theoretician P. Govinda Pillai claimed that Sankaran's philosophy and practice contained powerful elements of a reformation which strongly opposed the costly yajnas of the Brahmins. Thus each and everything is contained in Sankaran's philosophy. Jagat Midhya = god is Midhya = dialectical materialism....!

emerged threatening India's centralised structure. So Deshabhimani explains the LDF government's role in the ceremony to commemorate Sankaran thus : "Each government is a continuation of the one which preceded it. The cultural department and its Minister belong to the whole of Kerala, not just to the CPM." Thus they want the masses to believe that the LDF cultural department was only carrying out the common interests of the present coalition government and of the preceding Congress government. They want to suggest that, as a party, they have a different stand. But the fact is that a deep-rooted conspiracy to Indianise, Hinduise, Marxism through assimilating Sankaran with the help of new interpretations underlies their whole role. This can easily be seen by reviewing the practice of parties like the CPI and CPM.

This role adopted by these parties fits well with the policy of appeasing caste-religious forces adopted by the all-India ruling classes. Religious forces who clash with each other and cut each others throats; a bunch of rulers who sanctify this as secularism. This is what we have seen in India. The rulers have always appeased the minorities and ruled as the spokespersons of the majority. Nehru, Indira and Rajiv have followed this policy. The RSS and BJP consciously tries to push the Congress into their Hindu nation concept by criticising the appeasement of minorities by the state. The recognition of India's multinational character

\* Only the Brahma is true, the universe is an illusion!



and the formation of linguistic states are now attacked as colossal blunders.

The Left parties of India, notably the CPM and CPI, are notorious for their 'anti-communal religious amity' policy. At times they have even claimed that communalism is 'the greatest danger in India'. But one can readily see that religion and caste have played the main role in the formation of political parties and the battle for power among them during the last 25 years. A situation has come about where neither the Right nor the Left can engage in electoral fights without taking caste-religious factors into account or appeasing them. Today the Left is engaged in a keen competition to prove that it is the best defender of integration and Arsh culture. Hence they are forced to abandon a number of values upheld by them earlier and reject old positions. The CPM and its theoreticians like EMS are now moving along this direction. S.A. Dange, one of the founders of the communist movement in India, had long ago discovered Marxism in Vedanta and become proud of the 'great heritage' of Arsh Bharat. EMS follows him in seeking means to rouse Hindu sentiments.

The 13th Congress of the CPM was a good example of this conscious effort.\* Only an organisation which is totally indifferent to the anti-caste struggle and deeply immersed in Hindu religious thinking could have adopted the type of propaganda seen during this Congress. This propaganda was a true manifestation of the savarna caste hegemonism and Arsh culture now totally dominating parties like the CPI and CPM. Take for example the huge cut-out depicting the chariot at the Kurukshetra war, a prominent propaganda material at the 13th Congress. In the chariot drawn by white horses, a new bard of the Geetha has taken the place of the traditional god Krishna. EMS, dressed in pure and sacred white, is the new chariot driver. Instead of the Bagavat Geetha he has placed Marx's 'Capital' beside him to counsel the masses. We have been suffering for centuries from the laws established through 'Sacred wars' by this lord Krishna who had glorified the Varna system and regeneration after death. For us, the bard of Geetha, his chariot and the 'Dharma yudh' led by him do not give justice. Why was EMS prepared to appear in the chariot of Krishna who had denied us justice? To the innocent rank and file the party chiefs might have explained that the Kurukshetra war was a Dharmyudh (a sacred war), that today they too are leading a Dharmyudh against Rajiv Gandhi and that Sri Namboodiripad is their glorious charioteer. They cover up the fact that the symbolism of the chariot at the Kurukshetra war has the potential of gratifying the Savarna Hindus and assimilating Arsh culture. Their party has degenerated into a crowd deeply ridden with religious thinking to an extent where it is incapable of critically viewing even such glaring examples. Instead they see the echoes of social transformation in it.

Otherwise the thousands of Dalit comrades who attended the Congress rally would have certainly questioned the thinking which gave birth to this chariot drive.

Today EMS and his disciples have abandoned all their old positions. They have fallen back on some simple arguments to establish Sankaran. The attempt is to prove that Sankaran was an atheist and materialist by arguing that if there is no universe then there can be no god also! They cover up the historical mission fulfilled by Sankaran at the particular historical period he lived in. Sankaran emerged supreme, consolidating Brahminic hegemony, by smashing the existent materialist schools of thought and the Buddhist, Jain philosophies. (Though both these religious systems had degenerated, the anti-caste humanist positions of these philosophies are well known.) Sankaran, who was the chief spokesman of the varna-caste system, represented the interests of Brahminic hegemonism trying to restructure society on caste lines. This was his historic mission. His Advaita Mayavad was an instrument to serve this purpose. Sankaran carried this out by firmly adopting views such as regeneration after death and the Karma theory.

Sankaran declared that the universe is an illusion and non-knowledge. More, he reserved the possibility of overcoming this through knowledge of the Brahma solely for the Brahmins. He banned the Shudras and Dalits from enjoying all comforts, happiness and achievements realisable by human beings in this universe. He limited all wealth, status and power to a handful of Brahmins and Savarnas. He damned all lower castes, tribal peoples and women to eternally suffer their aggression and oppression. People like Sankaran theorised that this is their destiny. The theoretical base for Sankaran and others like him was given by Brahminic cannons like the Manusmriti. They stressed their inviolable and supreme nature. The caste system continues up to this day, imbibing the 'great' contributions of Sankaran over the past 1200 years. Those who discover materialism, dialectics and great contributions which advanced human history in Sankaran are not ignorant of all this; particularly those who wear the garb of communism.

The principal reason which led to this degenerate position of EMS and other 'Left' theoreticians is their mechanical Marxist approach. EMS and his disciples have only copied Marxist ideology. Today they can only have a negative approach to the various national struggles, the tribal peoples struggles and anti-caste struggles of Dalits. Whatever may be the drawbacks of these struggles they are opposed to Arsh culture and the caste based all-India state and all-India

contd. on p19

\* Reported in Mass Line No.35 (Feb. '89.)



The 'brick march' of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad-Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, meant to transport 'consecrated' bricks from all over the country to Ayodhya and build a temple after demolishing an existing masjid, is sparking of violent attacks on Muslims and whipping up Hindu revivalist fascism. Vocally, except the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), all parliamentary parties have appealed for communal peace. The CPM led West

And finally, while the VHP vehemently declares that its stand on demolishing the masjid stands, it claims that the 'brick march' and the November 9 assembly in Ayodhya will be carried out in consultation with the government.

What emerges from all this? All the bourgeois political parties have a basic consensus- the VHP should be allowed to lay

## AYODHYA, UP

Bengal ministry has banned the march within the State. Yet, behind the scenes, all of them are actively engaged in hatching plans to reap maximum gain with an eye on the coming elections. These plans make strange bed fellows. While Jyoti Basu bans the march, his party politburo member H.S. Surjeet secretly meets vajpayee to persuade the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) to 'sober down' its stand on the plans to demolish the Babri masjid and talk over seat adjustments. Meanwhile, the Congress-I (accused by all for its passive role) minister Buta Singh claims

the foundation even if this means an outright undermining of the decision to hand over the dispute to the Allahabad high court. The argument that the foundation will be laid outside the 'disputed area' is nothing but a fig-leaf meant to fool the agitated Muslims and progressive public opinion. The 'disputed area' is not just the boundaries of the existing masjid or even the whole of Ayodhya. It is the whole of India. The Hindu revivalists have already declared that the Babri masjid at Ayodhya is only the first target. They have listed scores of other



Rajan

that he has persuaded both the VHP and the Babri Masjid Action Committee to maintain peace on the 9th of November when the 'brick marches' will converge at Ayodhya. The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) chief Deoras declared that there is no plan to demolish the masjid on the 9th; only the foundation for the future temple for Rama will be laid. Picking up the cue Vajpayee commended the VHP for its 'wise decision' to move the foundation spot away from the disputed spot.

masjids throughout the country as targets of their hate campaigns and demolition plans. They have been building up their revivalist campaign over the past 6 years with the support of the Congress-I and other parties. Once the foundation stone is laid, their campaign will take on a more frenzied nature throughout the country; rendering any government intervention immaterial.

The whole country is the 'disputed area'



RELIGION has always been used by the ruling classes to strengthen their rule. Up to the advent of capitalism, religion was the main form of the rulers ideology. Each and every time oppressed the masses, waged war amongst themselves and massacred thousands in the name of god. Temples, mosques and churches were built and destroyed in god's name. The Hindu revivalists claim that the Turks, Pathans and Moguls destroyed hundreds of temples. There is nothing surprising in this. After all, we already had the tradition of scores of Buddhist and Jain temples being destroyed by Kshatriya and Brahmin rulers after the restoration of Brahminism during the so called 'Golden' period of Hinduism. Besides these rulers and their advisers had a tradition of openly exploiting god and religion to fatten the king's purse and enforce his rule. Kautilya the Brahmin suggests the setting up of idols stealthily in the night and

then using them to collect money for the treasury. The 'great' Kashmiri Hindu king Harsha looted the treasures of the Bhimakesava temple. According to Kalhana's 'Rajatarangini': "Then the greedy-minded (king) plundered from all temples their wonderful treasures which former kings had bestowed there. In order to get hold of the statues of gods, too, when the treasure (of the temples) had been carried off, he appointed Udayaraj 'perfect for the overthrow of divine images (devotpatana-nayaka)'. In order to defile the statues of gods, he had excrement and urine poured over their faces by naked mendicants whose noses, feet and hands had rotted away" (Stein's translation, book 7, Pages 1090-1092, quoted from D.D. Kosambi, 'History and Society', Bombay '89). Incidentally, Harsha ruled in the 11th century when the alleged temple at Ayodhya remained safe under the Turks and Pathans.

In another, more deeper, sense also. The symbolism of a temple built from bricks collected from all over the country and dedicated to Rama the 'pure Aryan' who subdued the 'evil race' of Rakshasas, protected the Brahminic order by beheading Shambuka the Sudra who had the audacity to carry out penance to gain knowledge and safeguarded patriarchy by forcing his wife Sita to undergo a chastity test, is all too clear. Further, these utterly reactionary values are to be consolidated not just in the name of 'national integration'. The bricks being worshipped in lakhs of villages throughout the country, are the bricks for a fascist temple of reactionary - Hindu national integration. The timing of this fascist hate campaign - openly directed against the Muslims and implicitly against all other religious minorities, oppressed castes, rebellious women and the oppressed national - ethnic peoples challenging 'Indian integration' - just before the coming general elections reveal the close nexus between the 'obscurantist' revivalist wave and the 'modern' parliamentary process. One goes to bolster the other and both of them work to promote the legitimisation of the integrated Indian state on the basis of Hindu revivalism.

The Congress has been one of the main players of this reactionary game. In '49, it remained silent and encouraged the first open step taken by the Hindu revivalists to take over the Babri masjid. Despite the 'secular' noise made by Nehru, neither the Congress government at the centre or Uttar Pradesh (UP) took action to firmly put down the revivalists who had smuggled in, an idol of Rama into the masjid. None of the succeeding Congress governments took steps to see that the case filed by Muslims to lift the

injunction against their entering the centuries old masjid was expedited. Up to the '80s the Congress kept the issue alive by remaining passive. But when safeguarding 'national integration' and the propagation of Hindu revivalism to bolster it became the most crucial task, it took up an aggressive stance. In 1984 the UP government information department's organ inaugurated the campaign with a viciously communal version of the controversy. It said: "Taking advantage of our social divisions the Muslim invaders spread all over the country. Temples were destroyed, idols broken. For religious conversion Muslim rulers and Muslims launched a policy of terrorism and temptation.... In 1528 Babbar.... got the Janma Asthan demolished and got a mosque constructed in his own name at the same site, from material of the demolished temple...." Within few months, the VHP launched its campaign to demolish the masjid using the government's 'historical' version as proof of the just nature of its demand.

The president and secretary of the VHP are leading Congressmen and ex-ministers. Its campaign was supported by Congressmen like Karan Singh (now appointed ambassador to the US by Rajiv Gandhi) and Arun Nehru (previously a close confidant of Rajiv Gandhi and now leader of the Janata Dal). After whipping up revivalist-integrationist frenzy throughout the country, a local advocate was used to file a petition challenging the injunction order citing technical reasons. Despite knowing that the original case filed by Muslims was pending since '49 and fully aware of the charged nature of the case, the local magistrate passed orders removing the injunction. The UP Congress ministry immediately complied with the backing of Arun

(to next page)



and by actively participating in organising the brick march. While Rajiv Gandhi blasts out at the BJP and Shiv Sena demand for a Hindu nation, his home minister Buta Singh has arranged the inauguration of the VHP brick march in Bihar from the Sikh guru-dwara at Patna controlled by his agents. In all the other States also Congress leaders are actively involved in the march.

Let us now pass on to the other parliamentary political parties who 'oppose' the VHP programme. The Janata Dal and the rest of the National Front have adopted an ambiguous position of fervently calling on both the VHP and the Muslim organisations to maintain peace. None of the constituents of the National Front have taken up any active campaign to resist the challenge thrown up by Hindu revivalism. With Devi Jais, NTRs, Arun Nehrus, Raja VP Singhs and others in control, nothing else could be expected. Unlike this crowd, the CPI and CPM are against the VHP's brick march. Their target is communalism in general. To the Hindu nation of the VHP-RSS they counterpose the secular Indian nation where Brahminic demons like Adisankara have an honourable position. Rather than challenging the reactionary premises of Hindu revivalism (epitomised in its projection of Rama) from the standpoint of the oppressed, they impotently plead for humanist love. The CPI plans to build a human wall of love at Ayodhya on the 8th November.

A number of progressives and even some ML groups have been impressed by such humanist opposition. To oppose the Hindu revivalists they raise the slogan: 'Say it with love, we are human beings'. This is nothing but playing into the hands of the Hindu revivalists by accepting their division of society into Hindus, Muslims and so on. The issue is not one of a clash between Hindus and Muslims. It is a clash between Hindu revivalism based on the worst type of Brahminical upper casteist outlook and all (including religious minorities) who suffer from this inhuman ideology and the system it serves. It is a clash between the all-India comprador class who promotes Hindu revivalism and all the classes, the whole nations, suppressed and exploited by it. There can be no love between these opposi-

tes. We cannot counter Hindu revivalism with abstract calls to love all human beings. We must teach the masses of all religions, of all castes, to give a sharp, scientific, revolutionary direction to their spontaneous hatred against the existing system. We must make them realise that Hindu revivalism, the casteism it automatically promotes and the oppression of religious minorities, women and national-ethnic peoples it sustains, is to be attacked to overthrow this system. We must uphold the just nature of the hatred of the religious minorities and oppressed castes against Hindu revivalism, stand together with their resistance and help them realise that the particular injustice they suffer can only be eliminated by overcoming religious-caste divisions and uniting in national liberation wars. To do this, we must break off from the liberal trap of equating Hindu revivalism and the fundamentalism-revivalism among the religious minorities. The former is the ideology of the oppressor; the latter thrives in the conditions of oppression and discrimination faced by the religious minorities. If this demarcation is lost sight of then liberal-humanist bankruptcy is inevitable.

We must demarcate and then go on to deal with the position adopted by some Muslim politicians and religious leaders which have helped only in isolating the Muslim masses and making their resistance impotent. Basing themselves on fundamentalist or revivalist outlook they have actually aided the VHP conspiracy by reducing the Babri Masjid issue to a Muslim issue. This is not just a result of their outlook. It also reflects the opportunist interest of using the issue to build up a Muslim vote bank and keep it under their control. The split in the original Babri Masjid Co-ordination Committee was precisely related to differences on this opportunist game. Through the split led by Shahabuddin, the militant youth getting disgusted with the machinations of the BMCC leadership were also fooled and kept under leash. This is the meaning of the tame ending of Shahabuddin's fiery exit in the formation of a parliamentary party and its bargaining.

13 October, 1989

## NOTE

This issue of Mass Line comes to you after a gap of two months. We have tried our best to avoid this gap but technical problems have repeatedly come up preventing publication. Apart from this, escalating costs have also created serious problems. We are overcoming these snags and trying our best to ensure regular publication of Mass Line.

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As the anti-Manu protest movement gained momentum, Adivasis both at Nagpur and some nearby places such as Umred have strongly come out against the ritual of burning Ravana's effigy on the occasion of Ramlila. The slaying of Ravana by Rama historically symbolises the victory and domination of the Brahminic order; its celebration contains the racist extolling of the victory of Aryans over the Dravidians. The Adivasis oppose it since it offends their tribal/non-Aryan identity. At Umred the Adim Bhatka Vimukta Sanghatana has succeeded in putting a stop to this chauvinistic ritual. At Nagpur, headquarters of the RSS, the Gonds organised a Ram-effigy

## Burning Rama

burning ceremony on the Ramlila day. The Hindu revivalists have always claimed that the Gonds and other tribal peoples are Hindus. Hence this decision of the Gonds was a real blow to them; particularly at a time when they were busy with the brick worship ceremony for the temple they are trying to build in Ayodhya. A 400 strong mob of RSS, Shiv Sena, ABVP people forcibly prevented the Gonds from carrying out their programme. The police remained passive. But the joy of the revivalists did not last long. Their victory parade was cut short by a militant rebuff and the RSS men had to run off licking their wounds.

## ... pig sty

from p.6

posed real issues, their boycott intervention will be meaningless. In this regard, an exposure of the real state of the economy, avoided by all the bourgeois parties, will be extremely useful to bring out the full dimensions of the ruling class electoral clash and the bankruptcy of the national bourgeoisies' ambitions. After achieving the 'great leap' from the Hindu rate of growth, industrial growth has slowed down to a miserable pace of 1.8% during April-June, 1989 as compared to 8.8% in 88/89. The reason is constraints on raw material supplies due to inadequate foreign exchange releases. The ASSOCHAM has projected the need to cover an investment savings gap of Rs.45,000 Crores in the private sector if the planned 6% growth rate of the upcoming 8th plan is to be achieved. The government's reply is a restriction of credit and a push to the private sector promoters to go in for foreign commercial

loans. The promises of restoring national dignity given by the National Front or of continuing the glorious march into the 21st Century under the Congress rest on this miserable foundation which promises an exploding debt crisis and a severe attack on the masses standard of living. Neither the promised second democratic revolution through the Panchayat reforms nor the blooming of federalism through restructuring Centre-State relations will eliminate this ground reality and the intensification of national, class contradictions. Whichever party comes to power a period of severe political instability and economic crisis is sure. The boycott programme of the Marxist-Leninists should keep this future in mind. They should enter the political debate to mobilise public opinion in favour of the path of anti-imperialist national liberation struggles as the only, genuine and resolute solution. National dignity cannot be restored from Delhi. It can come only with the liberating of the oppressed nationalities in India.

## ... SANKARA

from p.13

structure. But one who becomes a spokesperson of Akhand Bharat can never accept such struggles. They cannot avoid restoring Sankaran. Marxism should have been applied in accordance to the conditions existing and developing in India in order to use it as an ideological weapon to confront the issues coming up here. EMS and others who have never been ready for this are now more interested in writing new commentaries for Sankaran.

At yet another plane it is quite natural that Sankaran who consolidated Brahminism and the caste system should become dear to EMS and Nayanar, because they have never experienced the horrors of caste oppression. That is why such basic questions like the annihilation of the caste system were treated as secondary while they involved themselves with tackling the issues raised by political polarisations within the Savarna castes of which they too are a part. Today, they are not only disinterested in such ques-

tions but by restoring Sankaran, by giving new interpretations to his philosophy, by exhorting the masses to respect and love him they are opening up a new front for the caste system.

(abridged from the bulletin of the Adhasthitha Navodhana Munnani, No.2, July '89)

## from p.10 NAGPUR

So while fighting against the caste/com-munal conspiracy of the ruling class, one should also deal with this aspect, rather than lumping everything together. While resisting and rebuffing attempts to resurrect casteist patriarchal symbols and practices, we must at the same time GRASP their new features and expose their roots in neo-colonialism promoted by the ruling class. Otherwise, if such developments are viewed from the old understanding that they simply reflect existing feudal relations, we will miss the crux of the matter and will not be able to turn the contradictions generated by neo-colonialism against the principal enemy.



THE TIENANMEN massacre had drawn a swift and sharp condemnation from all the ML groups in India. (Obviously, those who have excluded themselves from the ML movement, like the VM group, had a totally contrary stand). They had also exposed and stood up against the anti-communist bourgeois propaganda which was unleashed in the wake of the mass upheaval in China and the June massacre. Yet sharp differences have also been revealed in the course of this activity. They center on the question of how to evaluate the struggle in China and on whether it should have been supported or not. At one end we had a clearcut position of characterising the students' struggle and their demands as progressive in the context of social fascist rule in China, despite their bourgeois character. At the other end was the view that the students' struggle should not be supported

## A doctrinaire prescription for Chinese masses

Sunil

since they were raising only bourgeois democratic views. This viewpoint held that the struggle is in fact a "power struggle within the ruling elite" (Resistance, May-July, '89, p.6) and the "working class has nothing to choose between the two sides." A theoretical justification for this position was advanced by the CPI(M-L) (Red Flag) through the 'Red Star': "To demand for any form of bourgeois democracy in China which had undergone democratic revolution and was in the path of socialist revolution at the time of usurpation of power by the capitalist roaders will only help to conceal the treachery of global reaction." (p.2, Red Star, June, '89). Further, in a reply to a correspondent who criticised this position, the Red Flag group argued that "In the historical context of China this (i.e., bourgeois democratic reforms) cannot be termed a progressive move. It is a clamour for a historically and politically obsolete phase as far as Chinese society is concerned." (p.11, July/August 1989). Though the masses in China have been suppressed, the issues raised in this debate are of long ranging importance to the tactics of revolutionary movements and merit further elaboration.

Whether out of desperation to cover up its weak position or due to a long standing aptitude for reeling of bare faced lies, the Red Flag group (the most vehement and 'theoretical' proponent of the above mentioned view) has concocted a theory of terming social fascism as the main danger and attributed it to the CRC, CPI(M-L). It charges that the CRC, CPI(M-L) "...is trying to resurrect another brand of this theory (i.e., 3-Worlds Theory) by claiming that social fascism of erstwhile socialist countries has become the principal danger and so a broad united front of all opposed to this should be formed." (p.11, Red Star, July/August, '89). Further, it has claimed that the view reflected in the letter criticising their position is that of "...pleading for support to the forces who had opposed Deng clique and to bourgeois democracy..." (p.6, Red Star, July/Aug. '89). Let us first take up the actual viewpoint represented in this letter published in the same issue of Red Star. One can easily see that there is no question of calling for support to all the forces opposed to Deng or to bourgeois democracy. Rather the point that is made is that calling both the Dengist state and the agitationists as equally bad is a typical example of lack of understanding of proletarian tactics. It is pointed out that the agitation was not merely a students' demonstration but encompassed diverse classes, including a new 'managerial class' and that "all these class forces had a clash of interest against the social fascist...state bureaucratic capitalist rule of Deng and Co." Further, "...we will certainly opt for a bourgeois democratic rule in place of a fascist one at least because it will provide opportunity for the revolutionary proletariat to get organised and fight for the establishment of socialism." (p.2, Red Star, July/Aug. '89, emphasis added).

The central question is that of recognising that the struggle in China encompassed the interests of a number of classes. That, whatever the subjective intentions of the students or of the Zhao Ziyang group which tried to utilize it, the movement went beyond this limit and became a focal point of mass resistance against social fascist rule. It reflected the deep antagonism between the rulers and the working masses. This is the significance of Mao photos and the Statue of Liberty coming together, of the student leaders attempt to enforce passiveness and the actual, militant resistance to the army.

True, Marxist-Leninists must analyse things from a class stand-point. In the case of the Chinese developments they must try to identify the various classes who came into struggle and analyse the objective conditions which led to such a configuration. Once the



whole movement is characterised as one which "...in the main reflects the contradiction among the ruling classes..." (p.11, Red Star July/Aug.'89), then there is no point in claiming that "there is no effort to equate the suppressive rule of Deng with the student agitation." (p.6, Red Star, same issue). The point is not whether one is suppressing while the other is agitating. If it is a clash within the ruling class then suppression and agitation in that context only means that one faction is using the uniformed masses (the army) to execute its will while the other is using an unorganised, un-uniformed section. The problem with the Red Flag group (and other groups) is that their erroneous class analysis of the movement in China and its actual impact pushes them into a half-hearted, contradictory position. The massacre at the Tiananmen square forces them to condemn it even while all along they had already written off the whole thing as an infight within the Chinese ruling class. This substitution of blockheaded doctrinalism for Marxist class analysis also underlies the Red Star's critique of the CRC, CPI(M-L)'s position on Chinese developments.

The Secretary of the CRC, CPI(M-L) had expressed this position in a clear-cut manner in his press conference held at New Delhi and later through a pamphlet. He said, "So far as those who recognise that there is fascist rule in China are concerned all resistance to it should be supported.... This support should be extended, not by considering the leadership of those who are in rebellion against fascism or their aims, but solely on the basis that they are resisting fascism.... This stand can be adopted only from the basic communist revolutionary position of unreservedly opposing all suppression and injustice." (p.2, translated from Malayalam). After pointing out the Chinese context which has led to the particular configuration of forces arrayed against the ruling clique in China, K.Venu stated that, "In a situation where social fascism is dominant the struggle can be conducted only by building up the broadest possible front against it. The issue of democratic rights will come forward as a slogan which can be raised by all forces who can unite against fascism. The fact is that even the most primary democratic right will be progressive in the struggle against fascism..." (p.19). Obviously this does not mean that bourgeois democracy is the answer to fascism. "The revolutionary forces can advance the struggle against social fascism only through a protracted revolutionary struggle which is based on armed struggle. In this, numerous forms of struggle including the struggle for bourgeois democratic rights will be utilised." (p.20).

To get things clear let us put it this way. Suppose a Marxist-Leninist core is existing in China which is not yet in a position to mobilise the struggle on its own or intervene effectively. Should this core extend support to the students' call for 'bourgeois democracy, an end to corruption etc.', while going on to point out the limitations of these demands and the correct path of overthrowing the neo-capitalists? Or should it call upon the masses to keep off since bourgeois democracy is no longer progressive in China which has already witnessed a cultural revolution and the time for a revolutionary intervention is not yet ripe? Should it tell them that they should suffer fascist rule till then, lest an easing of fascist rule might generate illusions and hinder the revolution?

THE CENTRAL QUESTION IS THAT OF RECOGNISING THE STRUGGLE IN CHINA ENCOMPASSED THE INTERESTS OF A NUMBER OF CLASSES. THAT, WHATEVER THE SUBJECTIVE INTENTIONS OF THE STUDENTS OR OF THE ZHAO ZIYANG GROUP WHICH TRIED TO UTILISE IT, THE MOVEMENT WENT BEYOND THIS LIMIT AND BECAME A FOCAL POINT OF MASS RESISTANCE AGAINST SOCIAL FASCIST RULE. IT REFLECTED THE DEEP ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE RULERS AND THE WORKING MASSES. THIS IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAO PHOTOS AND THE STATUE OF LIBERTY COMING TOGETHER, OF THE STUDENT LEADERS ATTEMPT TO ENFORCE PASSIVENESS AND THE ACTUAL, MILITANT RESISTANCE TO THE ARMY.

Strangely enough this prescription is advanced by the very same people who had called for uniting with all forces, including the bourgeois parliamentary opposition, to safeguard 'limited democracy' offered by the Indian Constitution when NTR had been dismissed from power in 1984. It might seem even more strange that this very group is now actively involved in building up an anti-fascist front, based on the view that the fascicisation of the Indian state is the greatest danger before all of us. Yet there is a link. In the actual conditions of China, they advance a position which will effectively reduce the revolutionaries there to mute spectators and make it all the more easier for both factions of the Chinese ruling class to play their games. In India, they deny that the main source of the drive for fascicisation is the ruling class need for greater 'national integration', brand all the ongoing national struggles which objectively challenge this as ruling class conspiracies meant to split the peoples rank, and finally base their call for an anti-fascist struggle on 'pure, r-r-revolutionary' demands which blissfully ignore all real, immediate, practical tasks.



## CHINA (From Page:21)

Finally a word about the Red Flag group's position that bourgeois democracy does not have any historically progressive role in China. Within the M-L movement, it is commonly accepted that capitalism has been restored in China. What is the nature of this capitalism? Analysing the actual state of affairs in the present Chinese system and based on the positions advanced by the socialist roaders in the struggle against Deng and Co., in the '70s, the CRC, CPI(M-L) has characterised contemporary China as a neocolony of imperialism. Various articles have appeared in 'Mass Line' on this issue. Apparently the Red Flag group still maintains this position. It says: "...China is degenerating fast to the condition of any third world country."; "...China....is fast degenerating to neo-colonial condition."; ".....current developments in China....is in no way dissimilar to the developments which are possible, and which are taking place in any third world country. In these countries series of military coups, fast changes in the positions of authority, ruthless suppression and police and military firing against people are quite

common." If this is so then how does the Red Flag group arrive at its position of declaring that a demand for bourgeois democracy in the face of social fascist rule in China cannot be termed as progressive? Particularly when it accepts that opting for 'bourgeois democratic rule in place of fascist one' is correct in a neocolonial country like India? The answer is another splendid example of its doctrinarianism. Capitalism overthrew socialism in China. In India the task before us is New Democratic revolution. In China the task is to carry out a socialist revolution and overthrow capitalism. Socialism is the rule of the proletariat and there can be no room for bourgeois ideology or bourgeois democracy there. Therefore the demand for bourgeois democracy is reactionary forever and ever in China, even if it is being raised in the face of Deng's social fascist bayonets, even if an easing of fascist rule will be useful for the revolutionaries to prepare better and quicker to carry out the task of overthrowing capitalism! If there is any lesson in the heights of absurdity attained by the 'Red Flag' group (and others toeing a similar line) it is this: revisionist tailism and doctrinaire passiveness go together.

## CHINA

(From Page:23)

families. It is necessary to investigate at once the whole of their fortunes, inspect the national registers of accounts, and publish the accounts for the whole population to see.

The students have matured! In front of Tiananmen, it is clear that millions of people uphold revolutionary order! The people have awakened! They have understood that in any society, in any epoch there are only two classes, the dominant class and the dominated. Those classes, parties and organisations that follow the current of history are progressive and revolutionary, those that resist are retrograde and reactionary.

This is the fundamental reason that, from the time of Qin Shi Huangdi to our days, the Chinese people has cherished "upright officials", and needs, praises and commemorates them....

At the present time we must be especially vigilant that political opportunists from the CCP do not profit from this democratic movement to achieve their objective of an autocratic usurpation of supreme power. Deng Xiaoping used the "April 5" popular movement and its repression to reveal his true colours after mounting the throne. The "successes of the reform" that they talk about are false and superficial. The reality is that the standard of living of

the majority has fallen, while borrowing increases, on the assumption that the people will pay it back!

Comrade workers of the broad masses, it is urgently necessary to unite around the workers' unions, under the leadership of the workers' unions of the cities and push the present democratic movement to a new level. Our union is calling for a big workers' demonstration of the whole city to support the student movement and to launch a peaceful petition campaign..... The slogan of the demonstration is "THERE IS NOT A SCRAP OF TRUTH LEFT IN THE WHOLE OF CHINA!"

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A WORLD TO WIN



THE DESPOTISM and greed of the corrupt officials and mandarins has reached new heights! There is not a scrap of truth left in the whole of China! No reactionary power is any longer able to hold back the waves of the anger of the whole people; the people can no longer believe the poisonous words of the authorities who deceive the people. Therefore we write on our banner: science, democracy, liberty, human rights, a legal system.

On April 21, 1989, in Beijing we officially founded the Workers' Union of the city of Beijing in order to protect the interests of the workers and issued two documents—"Letter to the People of the City" and "Ten Questions". In an editorial on April 26, 1989, the People's Daily nevertheless treats us as reactionaries. Our reply is: since you do not dare to publicly answer our ten questions, publish our two documents. Have you not put forward for forty years the slogan "have confidence in the broad masses"? We demand the total repudiation of the editorial of April 26, and the severe punishment of whoever was responsible for this article, along with their clique behind the scenes.

We have carefully established the facts about the exploitation of the workers. The mode of exploitation has been analyzed according to the method taught by Karl Marx in Capital. We subtracted from the value of production: the workers' wages, premiums and benefits; socially necessary accumulation; the social facilities; and the expenses for the expanded reproduction of capital, and we have discovered to our amazement that the "people's public (state owned) enterprises" are expropriating the whole of the surplus-value extracted from the sweat and blood of the people! The rise in exploitation is unheard of! Atrocious! Such is the flavour of the "specificities of China"! Throughout the country, the "people's public enterprises" build, out of our sweat and blood, luxurious villas (protected by the army under the pretext that they are forbidden military zones) and deluxe automobiles. The functionaries organise pleasure trips (supposedly inspection

visits), on which the officials take along their children and even their nurses! Women functionaries spend hours making themselves beautiful, while male officials run after pretty women, and so on. It would take too long to recount all their villainies, not to say crimes.

Starting from the interests of the people and the nation, comrade Fang Lizhi ex-

This document is a telling answer to those who denigrate the May upsurge in China as nothing more than a factional fight within the ruling class or a one sided struggle for bourgeois democracy. Yet it also reveals the weakness of the workers' intervention—their failure to demarcate between Yanan and Sian, between revolution and counter revolution. Note their characterisation of the 1976 April 5 Dengist march in the Tienanmen Square as a 'popular movement' and the absence of any distinction between the post '76 capitalist regime and Socialist China. Just take the matter raised by the statement i.e., the surplus appropriated by the State. It is a well recorded fact that Socialist China under Mao's leadership had strictly followed a policy of keeping accumulation at a level which promoted a steady rise in the standard of living of the masses. Under Deng, the new exploiters are only interested in squeezing out the maximum to fatten themselves and the imperialist sharks.

—MASS LINE

**"There is not a scrap of truth left in the whole of China"**

Council (government), and the Central Committee and Secretariat of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

The first group of people who should be investigated for misappropriation of public funds are—Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Peng, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Yang Shangkun, Wan Li, Jiang Zemin, Ye Xuanping and their

pressed a correct point of view on the question: "what good does it do us to attract foreign capital?" We support and agree with him, because, as in the past, this "foreign capital" will be transformed by legal means into the individual fortunes of the degenerate officials. It is the nation that pays, while a "tiny handful" profits. It is the broad masses of the people that pay the debts. It is they who must do the accounting!

**"The great market of the mandarins"**

We are opposed to that brutal violation of human rights, the forcible sale of Treasury Bonds. We demand the publication of the incomings and outgoings of Treasury Bonds in recent years and how they have been used. We demand that the whole value of the Treasury Bonds currently in circulation amongst the population be restored, and the closing of the market in Treasury Bonds. This is the great market of the mandarins, the great financial resource of the degenerate bureaucrats.

We repeat: in order to raise wages and stop inflation, it is necessary that the two, even three generations have similar wage levels. We call for the opening of an inquiry into the Heads of State and government, the Military Commission of the Central Committee (CC), all the Commissions of the State



# SOVIET UNION

THE ASSERTION of sovereignty and the right to secede by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet is the latest in an ever growing avalanche of national conflicts and challenges to the unitary Soviet state. Notably, this declaration of sovereignty has come just a few days after Gorbachev threatened the use of Central forces to lift the blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh (populated mainly by Armenians) situated within Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan has joined the growing list of republics within the Soviet Union which have passed laws making the national language the state language and thus ending the de facto hegemony of Russian. Meanwhile the strike organised by Russian workers in Estonia to repeal a republic law fixing residence periods for getting voting rights has succeeded, with central backing. Though the Russian workers had claimed that their citizenship rights were being curtailed, 'Moscow News' reports that barely 24,000 people - including Russians and Estonians - would be affected by the law which insists on a minimum of 2½ years in the locality to vote and 5 years to contest elections. Evidently the strike by nearly 13,000 workers which paralysed rail traffic was motivated by other factors. Their content can be understood from the plans of the Russian workers to demand autonomy for Northern Estonia centering on Ta-

ling class based on the dominant Russian nation, had aggravated the contradictions caused by this violation. But its roots go further back and are tangled up with longstanding economic grievances.

Take the case of the recent attacks on the Meskhatian Turks (mainly Shia Muslims) in Fergana, Uzbekistan mainly populated by Uzbeks (Sunni Muslims). Over a hundred Meskhatians were murdered during the riots and finally they had to be evacuated en masse by the Soviet troops who used armoured personnel carriers to suppress the riots. Gorbachev has accused Islamic fundamentalists of fomenting the program. Soviet sociologists writing in 'New Times' (No. 25, '89) claim that the "...riots were due to marginal people who have abandoned their habitual rural environment but are not prepared to integrate into modern industrial society." When one gathers that there are 2,80,000 unemployed persons in Kuvasai where the riots were centered, it is easy to see who these 'marginals' are. On the other hand the Meskhatians are largely employed in locally prestigious professions; as doctors, teachers, engineers and workers in industrial enterprises. The rural section among them is comparatively more prosperous than the native Uzbeks. Very few among them work in the cotton fields, one of the most important economic activities in Uzbekistan but

## FIRE IN THE FORTRESS

linin, which also happens to be the capital of Estonia!

The outburst of national conflicts in the Soviet Union represents a complex tangle of contradictions. Gorbachev's democratisation (glasnost), meant to utilise material self-interests and mobilise middle class sentiments for democracy in favour of his restructuring programme (perestroika), has unwittingly opened up the barriers suppressing popular anger against national oppression, bureaucratic-police rule and class exploitation. The reactionary concept of the 'new Soviet people', propagated by the Russian imperialists to sanction their policy of elimination of national distinctions and assimilation into Russia, has been smashed to bits. Not just that, the repeated incidents of national conflicts, directed against the dominant Russian nation and also against neighbouring nationalities and ethnic minorities, clearly exposes the claim that the national question has been successfully resolved in the Soviet Union! Rather than resolution, the picture we see is a violation, a departure from Leninist principles. Capitalist restoration in the late '50s and the consequent subjugation of the various national-ethnic peoples to serve the imperialist interests of the new ru-

prabir

comparatively low in ranking. Thus one can see that real economic grievances have also gone into creating conditions for the riots. The theory of 'marginals' working off the lack of 'preparation to integrate' is nothing but an attempt to cover this up. The stooges of Russian imperialism are very interested in covering this up because these economic grievances are rooted in the role enforced by the Russian centre on Uzbekistan - remaining a producer of raw cotton supplying factories situated in the European republics. On the other hand they give wide propaganda to Stalin's policies, (further implemented by Brezhnev) which have led to an aggravation of national contradictions and try to escape blame. We will deal with their role later. First, on Stalin's policies.

The injustice meted out to the Meskhatian Turks is truly a glaring example of Stalin's non-proletarian policies on the national question. The Meskhatian Turks were deported by order of the Supreme Soviet in 1944 from their native place Meskhatia in Southern Georgia. Though they were resettled in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan their national rights were taken away. The charge - collaboration with the Nazis during the War! The Meskhatian Turks were



not the only national people to suffer such vicious national suppression and denial of even the right to exist as a people under the pretext of collaboration of some sections with the Nazis. In 1941 the Soviet Autonomous Republic of Volga Germans was dissolved by decree and the people were deported on a similar charge. In 1944, the Kalmyks, Crimean Tartars, Ingush-Chechen, Balkars and Karachai suffered a similar horror. The Autonomous Republics of these peoples, formed in the '20s, were dissolved. Evidently none of these acts committed under Stalin's leadership had anything to do with Leninist principles or proletarian outlook. They were crude examples of the influence of Russian chauvinism. They represented a rupture from the policy adopted during the earlier period of the Soviet Union.

In this period the Soviet government had consciously adopted a policy of protecting and fostering the national rights of all peoples, regardless of the size of their territory or population. Numerous administrative structures such as autonomous republics, areas etc. were evolved to handle this task. Alphabets for over 50 oral languages were developed and education in national languages was promoted in a big way. Following Lenin's position that declaring Russian as state or official language of the Soviet Union would amount to another form of Russian chauvinism, the proletarian state took all care to foster national languages and cultures along with economic development. Whereas the Czar's regime had imposed Russian and Russian culture, the proletarian policy led to a flowering of national cultures. This was evident in the case of the national peoples mentioned earlier as of others. By the end of the '20s the mother tongue had become the medium of education upto the secondary level for the Volga Germans and Crimean Tartars. In the case of the other peoples the earlier backwardness prevented such a level. Yet scripts were developed and the mother tongue was steadily promoted in education. There was a growing volume of literature. Yet the deportation and forced dissolution in the '40s literally smashed this achievement. Denied national rights - there was no question of promoting their national languages. At the same time, the '30s and '40s also saw the growing dominance of Russian throughout the Soviet Union, though it was never given the status of a state language officially. Simultaneously there was a weakening of the drive to promote other national languages. This came up in the guise of convenience, needs of rapid economic development. Actually, this was a cover for Russian chauvinism exposed by Lenin in the '20s itself.

What are the root causes for this gross deviation? Particularly when Stalin himself earlier noted that "Proletarian culture

does not abolish national culture, it gives it content," or "...socialist revolution has not diminished but rather increased the number of languages...by stirring up the lowest section of humanity and pushing them on the political arena, it awakens to new life a number of hitherto unknown or little known nationalities..." (Collected Works, Vol.7, pp140-141). Stalin was considered as a leading authority on the national question. He was appointed as the Peoples Commissar in charge of National Affairs and played an important role in evolving suitable administrative-organisational forms to handle the complex national question. While he made important contributions in this regard he was also criticized by Lenin and others for adopting hasty and harsh methods to speed up the formation of the Soviet Union incorporating the various republics. But this was not just a question of methods. It also involved errors in principle. In a speech delivered at the 3rd All Russian Congress of Soviets (1918) Stalin cited incidents where the bourgeoisie of nationalists bordering revolutionary Russia were utilizing the national question to carry out struggle against proletarian rule in collaboration with the imperialists. He then went on to argue: "All this pointed to the necessity of interpreting the principle of self-determination as the right to self determination not of the bourgeoisie, but of the labouring masses of a given nation. The principle of self-determination should be a means in the struggle for socialism and should be subordinated to the principles of socialism." (Works, Vol.4, p.33). Stalin also stated that the "...demand for secession of the border regions from Russia as the form of the relations between the centre and the border regions must be rejected ...secession would undermine the revolutionary might of Central Russia...the seceded border regions themselves would inevitably fall into the bondage of international imperialism." (Works, Vol.4, p.364).

Though revolutionary Russia was undergoing a bitter struggle to survive imperialist-counter revolutionary intervention and secession of bordering nationalities like the Ukraine was one of the tools used by the imperialists for achieving their aims, the positions advanced by Stalin (and endorsed by the Congress) are incompatible with Lenin's positions on the right of self-determination. The argument on interpreting this right as the right of the working masses was in fact an old one already advanced by Rosa Luxemburg and Pyatinsky. One of Rosa Luxemburg's arguments against Lenin's views on the right of self-determination was that the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation would use it in their favour against the revolutionary proletariat. Stalin's view on subordinating the right of self-determination to the principles of socialism also substituted a narrow vision of



equating socialism to the immediate question of the existence of revolutionary Russia. This was in contradiction to Lenin who related the just and principled resolution of the national question in Russia to the impact it would have on the emerging tide of national struggles in the colonies. While it was true that the secession of the bordering nations would have endangered the fledgling revolution, this was no justification for the Russian party to reject the demand for secession precisely because these nations had suffered under the yoke of Russian hegemony. The correct application of Lenin's position in the case of Finland was equally applicable, as a matter of principle in the case of other nationalities also. The roots of the serious deviations on handling the national question in the Soviet Union lie in the denial of this Leninist principle and the substitution of 'self-determination of the labouring masses' in its place.

The growth and domination of the theory of productive forces in the socio-economic policies of the Soviet Union compounded these deviations. Planning was treated as a solely centralised affair originating from the centre. And it was more and more treated as a technical question. While the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership paid attention to building up a modern economy in the various nationalities, the aspects of decentralisation and self-reliance in relation to the nations received little attention. This sowed the seeds for the growth of lopsided national economies. These erroneous policies were further strengthened after Krushchev came to power. They have further intensified the national question and also provided a pretext for fostering Russian domination. The case of Latvia is a good example. The knitted goods factories in Latvia are an important component of the economy. Yet it has no national raw material base and is totally dependent on import of cotton from the Central Asian republics (like Uzbekistan). The produce is mainly exported to other parts of the Soviet Union. Between 1959 and 1989, 8 lakhs immigrant workers have settled in Latvia with a total population of 2.7 millions. The native people stand in danger of being reduced to a minority. To promote this type of industrialisation, the immigrants are given preference in housing facilities while the native people have to wait upto 25 years to get a house allotted to them. Another aspect of Russian domination is that the Latvians have to learn Russian to advance in their professions while there is no effort on the part of the state to promote the learning of the national language among the Russian immigrants.

Gorbachev and Co. generally accept that the nationality question has not been properly handled in the past. But they try to



Soviet youth in Uzbekistan.

put all blame on Stalin and Brezhnev. Krushchev's decision to restore national rights to the 7 nationalities deported during the 2nd World War is cited by them as an example of genuine efforts to rectify past mistakes. They claim that Gorbachev is now trying to take this forward after the stagnation of the Brezhnev period. These claims are only half-true. Krushchev did restore national rights but out of the 7, the Volga Germans, Crimean Tartars and Meskhatian Turks are yet to regain their right to return to their native places which have been declared as 'restricted border areas'. Apart from promoting Russian as the 'inter-nationality communication language', Krushchev had stopped the training of national language teachers from a number of ethnic nationalities including those who suffered deportation in the '40s. By the early '70s Russian became the medium of instruction with the national language taking the place of a subject. The number of titles published in national languages of ethnic peoples also witnessed a drastic fall. Yet none of these measures succeeded in stamping out national sentiments or eliminating national languages. According to a Soviet survey the percentage of people reporting the usage of their mother tongue actually showed a slight rise over the 20 year period '59-'79.

During Brezhnev's time the theory of a 'new, emergent, Soviet people' was promoted to justify the Russification programme. At the same time the ruling cliques in the republics were given a free hand to fatten their pockets and build up their own political-economic fortunes. While this did not make things any better for the oppressed peoples, it helped the new Czars to contain the national contradictions from bursting out. But the cost was central underwriting of economic inefficiency and corruption. Gorbachev had to tackle this as part of his restructuring drive. One of



his first actions was to remove the leaders of a number of republics, notorious for their corruption. But along with this he also installed Russians in key posts in the republican parties; the earlier leaders were local people. This sparked off the first massive upheaval on national lines—the Kazakhstan riots in 1986. Another step Gorbachev took was to insist that the republics should pay their own way instead of depending on central aids. He was trying to cut losses in view of the Soviet Union's precarious financial situation and make the republics step in line with perestroika. But this move has become a handy weapon for some republics to broaden the scope of autonomy and raise the question of sovereignty. After a lot of resistance, the Baltic republics, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, have finally succeeded in getting the principle of 'republican cost-accounting' ratified by the Soviet rulers, even though in a limited manner. But their demand to get ownership rights over economic enterprises in their nations has not yet been accepted. So far the state leaders of these republics and the leaders of the popular national movements have not raised the question of secession. But Soviet newspapers openly acknowledge that "...at the level of mass consciousness the idea of seceding from the USSR enjoys broad and growing popularity." (Moscow News, 31/'89). Evidently, each and every set back suffered by the nations to regain their autonomy by legal means (such as the forced withdrawal of the Estonian law on residency stipulations for voting rights), will only go to bring up the question of secession.

The national struggles coming up in the Soviet Union today contain diverse trends. A number of them are clearly led by sections of the local rulers themselves who are either interested in using national sentiments to check Gorbachev's inroads or are interested in setting up their own bourgeois states enjoying support of the US imperialist bloc. Rather than developing a broad national liberation struggle against Russian imperialism they foment chauvinistic feelings and turn the masses against other, equally oppressed, national peoples. On the other hand, many of the spontaneous outbursts are rooted in strong feelings against national suppression and economic deprivation. The recent riots in Kazakhstan where armed youth protesting against unemployment and high prices attacked police stations and paralyzed public transport is an example.

The US led imperialist bloc is in two minds over the national struggles emerging in the Soviet Union. They welcome it because it will help in pinning down Russian imperialism and will also give them opportunities to spread their influence. On the other hand, violent struggles for secession are not in their interest because it might lead to the toppling of Gorbachev and trigger off a tremendous upheaval which could

jeopardise their interests. Now-a-days they have started raising the question of the 'Finlandization' of the Baltic republics; a gradual acceptance of the independence of the Baltic republics in return of their guaranteeing not to adopt any measures which would threaten Soviet Union's security. But this idea cannot be favoured by the Russian imperialists because accepting the independence of any republic would set off a chain reaction throughout the country. Gorbachev is trying to promote the idea of a gradual promotion of autonomy, retaining decisive powers in the hands of the centre. But the plan of action is far from settled within the ruling class. The much awaited special session of the ruling party on the national question is yet to take place while each day brings news of national struggles and strife in new regions.

The struggles of the oppressed nationalities within the Soviet Union directed against Russian imperialist domination are just and carry the potential of a revolutionary upheaval which could overthrow the new Czars. In the absence of proletarian leadership these struggles, even if they succeed in their aim of national independence, will not lead to the end of exploitation or the restoration of socialism. But that will not negate the just nature of these struggles and they should be supported by the proletarian forces throughout the world. As a matter of principle, an oppressed nation's right of self-determination and secession should be upheld by the proletariat. (Further, in the contemporary world situation, a break up of the Soviet Union is something to be welcomed.) The fact that the oppressed nations in the Soviet Union exist within an imperialist country and that they had passed through a period of socialist development does not negate this. National independence of any of the oppressed nations in the Soviet Union, even under bourgeois leadership, will only provide a better opportunity for the development of a revolutionary proletarian movement aiming at restoring socialism. One of the doctrinaire blinkers which hinders the Marxist-Leninists from grasping the true potential of the national struggles in the Soviet Union directed against Russian domination and supporting them without reservations is the thinking that the contradictions underlying these struggles are the sole creation of capitalist restoration. As pointed out earlier this is not true. Under Lenin the proletariat had taken up the task of a just resolution of the national question. While the positions and steps taken up in that period are a positive contribution, there were also serious errors and deviations which have never been properly identified or rectified. It would be wrong to accept the nationality policy adopted in the Soviet Union even during the socialist period as a final, accomplished model.



# Mao's Theory of People's War



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## Mass Line and Self-Reliance

"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them."<sup>12</sup> This single sentence of Mao excellently reflects the fundamental nature of people's war and its relation to mass line. There can be no application of this principle of mass line without at the same time applying another principle emphasised by Mao, self reliance and arduous struggle; conversely, firmness in self reliance can lead one to the application of mass line.

Mao explained self-reliance in the following way:

"On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through our own efforts. We are not alone; all the countries and people in the world opposed to imperialism are our friends. Nevertheless, we stress regeneration through our own efforts. Relying on the forces we ourselves organise, we can defeat all Chinese and foreign reactionaries."<sup>13</sup>

He also explained the relation be-

tween self-reliance and foreign help: "We stand for self reliance. We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people."<sup>14</sup>

Without implementing the mass line, without dependence on the masses of people, all struggles are bound to be dependent on others. The revolution's leading force — the working class and its party — and the revolutionary army cannot defeat the powerful enemy alone; they must depend on one of the two forces, foreign aid or the masses of people. Further, at the time Mao spoke of hoping for foreign aid, socialism existed in the Soviet Union, which it no longer does. Foreign aid, especially on a state level, is not now available to genuine liberation struggles, as what is going on in the people's war in Peru under the leadership of its Communist Party shows. Thus it is more important than ever to fully depend on the masses of people.

.....

## Surrounding the Cities from the Countryside, and Related Military Matters

The main military matters included here are: the role of base areas; the protracted nature of the war; and the strategy and tactics of guerrilla war. ....

Besides these military aspects, there are also political and ideological features of base areas, and these are very important. The establishment of base areas means the growth of the revolutionary political power of the great majority of the peasantry, especially the

landless and poor peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat (which is a form of the dictatorship of all revolutionary classes under proletarian leadership, today, in Peru for example, this is called People's Committees). The implementation of the programme of new democratic revolution, the complete or partial elimination of feudalism and the distribution of the enemies' lands among the peasants in accordance with the principle of "land to the tiller," the establishment of people's courts and handing out of revolutionary justice — these and many other revolutionary changes are taken by the new revolutionary political power.

As a consequence, the toiling masses and patriotic people stand up with heads erect, they become immensely confident of their own revolutionary vigour, the people place their hopes and confidence in the party and the army it leads, as the people see concretely the goal of revolution and witness for themselves the form of the future liberated social system. In a word, base areas set examples of revolution before the people. All these things encourage the peasants to come under the flag of the revolutionary war with multiplied enthusiasm, and enable them to participate in the revolutionary pursuit and to sacrifice themselves with immense spirit. From the viewpoint of the whole country, base areas act as "sparks."

Also, through establishing and consolidating base areas, the proletariat leads people in capturing and wielding state power, however small, and thus the people can coin-



duct experiments with the new state power and in the process prepare themselves for future state administration.

These are the political and ideological roles of base areas.

### Post World War 2 Changes and the Path of People's War

On the one hand, since World War 2 developments have taken place such that most of the oppressed nations are no longer as backward as pre-revolutionary China. The wide and increasing penetration of imperialism has wrought many changes, some basic and qualitative. Capitalism has developed, including in agriculture, so that feudalism has been eroded to a great extent; workers have multiplied in number and become more experienced; alongside the industrial workers non-industrial labourers have tremendously increased in number, as have the landless peasants; urbanisation has increased; centralised military-bureaucratic state machines have been established. These changes are continuing, and sometimes even increasing.

On the other hand despite all these changes, the fundamental character of the socio-economic structure and the state remain basically, or mainly, unchanged. The so-called "independent national" states actually are not independent but under the most severe imperialist domination and exploitation. The ruling class is dependent on imperialism; feudal (and semi-feudal) exploitation and despotism still exist extensively in rural areas; cities and towns are still the strongholds of the enemy; the great majority of the population remain peasants, in vast rural areas, where impoverishment is even increasing steadily; the masses have no real democratic rights, and people are often crushed under the wheel of fascist military or civilian dictatorial rule which is in essence fascist. In a word, the situation in these countries with a few exceptions, is still, in essence, like that of pre-revolutionary China.

Thus despite the changes that have taken place, the basic strategy of surrounding the cities from the countryside remains valid (with the few exceptions). The rapid development of the people's war in Peru under the leadership of its Com-

munist Party proves this truth. But because there *have* been important changes, the necessity of applying the strategy and tactics of people's war creatively — something which Mao always stressed — is more felt than ever. . . . .

Because of the changes we have noted it is no longer possible in many countries to try to follow China's model exactly and try to spread guerrilla warfare throughout a country by starting from and depending on a base area established in a certain remote corner of a country. Instead, alongside the initiation of guerrilla warfare with the aim of establishing base areas, country-wide political and organisational work, mass movements and mass upsurges in urban areas, work among the workers and in the cities, activity centred on a party organ, etc. — all these have gained in importance, and it is imperative to co-ordinate them properly with guerrilla war (Mao gave these importance even in connection with the revolution in China). Otherwise, it will not be possible to lead the revolutionary war correctly. Moreover, the importance of all this work is bound to increase.

This work in urban areas may be helpful in facing enemy pressure in the initial period of the development of guerrilla war and base areas (of whatever kind) where the revolutionary forces are still weak. Conversely, the development of guerrilla war, and especially of base areas, can exert tremendous revolutionary influence in accelerating the mass upsurge and rebellion in urban areas, and giving these a more revolutionary character. Also, work in urban areas, especially among workers and in mass movements, can play a major role in supplying cadres and fighters.

The tendency to neglect all this and blindly apply the Chinese method of proceeding from local base areas was a major reason for the disasters which befell so many of the new generation of Marxist-Leninists who arose in the 1960s. Unfortunately, this tendency is still widespread. Specific reflections of this are:

- an inability to understand and blind denial of the process of capitalist development and the decay of feudal relations (in a non-

revolutionary way) in the oppressed countries;

- as a consequence of the above, the inability to understand or again denial of the importance of work in the cities and among workers, of mass organisations and upsurges and of the ability to carry out legal activity;

- inability to understand or denial of the importance of work on a country-wide scale for the establishment of base areas.

This tendency, widespread in the South Asian subcontinent, resulted in the revolutionary movements suffering severe setbacks. As a result a large number of persons degenerated from the ranks of Marxist-Leninists, and rejected Mao Tsetung Thought and people's war. Further, revisionists and other enemies have sought to capitalise on these setbacks to assault anew the line of Mao and of people's war.

Yet though the importance of grasping these changes and the adjustments they mandate in revolutionary work is clear, it must still be affirmed that work among peasants in the rural areas remains principal and that the task of developing guerrilla warfare remains in general the central task. Work in urban areas, or mass movements, etc., cannot advance revolutionary politics beyond a certain limit in the struggle for power without the development of armed struggle in the countryside. Only on-going guerrilla warfare in the countryside can create the conditions for establishing proletarian leadership of the city-centred mass organisations and raising them to higher stages and making use of them in service of the revolutionary war.

In some of the oppressed countries, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, capitalist development and the increase in the number of workers has been extensive, though these countries are not yet "predominantly capitalist." In such countries both the political and the military importance of the cities has increased and is increasing. This is an objective reality. Sometimes in these countries mass movements may leap into mass uprisings or mass revolt, even in the absence of armed struggle in the rural areas. Thus opportunities may arise for initiating armed struggle through first staging



mass uprisings in the cities, and this may be quite necessary. That is why, though in such countries surrounding the cities from the countryside is the path of revolution, the party of the proletariat should take into account in its overall strategy the possibility of using such situations and it should remain prepared to do so. So in these circumstances the line of developing guerrilla warfare and capturing power first in the rural areas does not apply in the same static way, but varies with the varying circumstances.

But if one's conception of overall strategy is hazy or if one neglects the main aspects of the overall strategy one will not be able to reap the fruits of such eventualities, because there is every possibility that the situation may take many turns. For example, in spite of mass uprisings in the cities, it may not be possible to proceed to the overall capture of power; or even if it is possible victory may not last long; or perhaps it will be possible to capture and even maintain power, but it will be necessary to conduct long-term civil war in the rural areas. Here the relevant experience of the Russian revolution is worth remembering. There, though Russia had developed to imperialism, its rural districts were still feudal, and there was civil war in the countryside. Cases may arise in which civil war should be waged according to the principle of people's war relying mainly on the peasants.

As in the case of starting armed struggle and guerrilla war, differences may also arise because of the afore-mentioned changes in the case of establishing base areas. The opponents of people's war like to say that the points Mao mentioned in the article "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?" as conditions for the survival of base areas no longer exist in most oppressed countries. In particular they argue that there are no longer locally fragmented feudal warlords as existed in China, but rather there are now powerful centralised military-bureaucratic state machines. These problems are multiplied, they say, in the relatively small countries that have no hills and forests. They conclude that it is not possible to establish base areas at all.

The material basis for these arguments should of course be ex-

amined thoroughly by Marxist-Leninists, so as to accurately understand the problems and limitations imposed by objective conditions. But the more important point here is that under the pretext of "objective conditions" these people present Mao's theory of red base areas in a mechanical and often partial and distorted manner.

The process of summing up base areas that Mao had undertaken up to 1928, when he wrote "Why Red Political Power Can Exist," did not end there, nor were these conditions something immutable. Mao later showed that even in the absence of the conditions he described in 1928 different types or forms of base areas could be developed. He mentioned, for instance, the following types of base areas: those in the hills and mountains, those on the plains, and those in the river-lake-estuary regions, and showed their comparative advantages and disadvantages. He also mentioned the following variable conditions that would effect the establishment of base areas, and required different and flexible policies: temporary or seasonal base areas in unfavourable terrain, shifting of base areas from place to place, taking advantage of "green curtains" of tall crops in summer in plains areas, of frozen rivers in winters, etc.<sup>16</sup> Thus Mao, in the course of summing up base areas over a long period of time, showed that a revolutionary party should try to start guerrilla war and set up permanent or temporary base areas in all places where people and enemy forces are found.<sup>17</sup>

As for the rise of centralised state machines and the absence of feudal warlords, many exaggerate the strength of these state apparatuses. They ignore their internal contradictions, the fact, for instance, that various power-hungry factions of the ruling class are at times locked in even bloody in-fighting in these countries, which throws the state machinery into a state of instability. This is an inevitable reflection of sharp contention among competing different imperialists, especially the two superpowers, over domination of these countries. It is an insoluble crisis under the neo-colonial system.

At the same time this system gives birth to fascist dictatorial rule over and over again in almost all such

countries. Even the masquerading social-democrats cannot for long hide their real fascist character. This, and the most severe exploitation, intensely sharpens the contradictions between the people of different strata and the ruling class. As a result, in many of these countries, even where there is no proletarian leadership, a good many armed rebel groups more or less linked to the people have emerged and maintained their existence for long periods. In some countries these groups have strongholds in rural areas and wage powerful armed attacks against the government. And such incidents take place even in small countries.

### People's War in the "Predominantly Capitalist" Countries

In the "Joint Communiqué" issued by 13 parties and organisations in 1980, it was said:

"There is an undeniable tendency for imperialism to introduce significant elements of capitalist relations in the countries it dominates. In certain dependent countries, capitalist development has gone so far that it is not correct to characterise them as semi-feudal. It is better to call them predominantly capitalist even while important elements or remnants of feudal or semi-feudal production relations and their reflection in the superstructure still exists.

"In such countries a concrete analysis must be made of these conditions and appropriate conclusions concerning the path, tasks, character and alignment of class forces must be drawn. In all events, foreign imperialism remains a target of the revolution."<sup>19</sup>

In addition to South Korea, Taiwan, etc., considerable capitalist development has taken place in a few Latin American and some oil-rich countries.

The capitalist development that has taken place in these countries is not an independent national capitalism, it is not capitalism that has come into being through the overthrow of feudalism and foreign imperialism. On the contrary, it is capitalism introduced through imperialism, in the process of its post-World War 2 expansion and under its neo-colonial system. This is comprador-bureaucrat capitalism,



aped by and intimately bound up with and dependent on foreign imperialism. Hence its distorted lopsided character, and, despite the predominantly capitalist character of the society, its continued neocolonialist domination. The state machineries of these countries are catch-dogs of comprador-bureaucrat capital and imperialism. There is no doubt that imperialism is one of the targets of revolution in these countries.

Since the old feudal/semi-feudal system was not overthrown by revolutionary means but transformed in a non-revolutionary way by imperialism itself, it is quite natural and possible that a big or major part of the property holders under the feudal system have, through a gradual and compromising process, turned into owners under the capitalist agricultural system, still dependent on imperialism. At the same time, the new comprador bureaucrats are bound to participate too in the agricultural economy. Also because of this non-revolutionary transformation, important elements or remnants of the feudal relations of production are bound to persist, and to have ongoing reflections in the superstructure.

That these countries are imperialist-dominated neocolonies is also reflected in the lack of democracy in the political state system, in the absence of legal rights of the people, in the continuation of savage military-bureaucratic dictatorships and their crushing of the people's movements.

All this means that in these countries the task of new democratic revolution has not been completed. One important feature of the new democratic revolution, as Mao showed in China, is that the bourgeoisie divide, that the middle and small bourgeoisie (i.e., the national bourgeoisie) can play a role in favour of revolution, and that is why the proletariat must strive to unite with them. This important formulation of Mao's is completely applicable in these countries. On the one hand widespread capitalist development has inevitably given birth to a large number of national bourgeois. On the other hand the comprador-bureaucratic capital in these countries in close collaboration

with imperialism has developed into monopoly capital, and the reactionary state machine protects them. As a result, the small and middle bourgeois is obstructed and impeded. Thus to divide the bourgeoisie and try to unite the national bourgeois in the course of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle is still an important task.

It is clear that the stage of revolution in these countries remains new democratic. The Trotskyites, social-democrats, and different types of revisionists put forward that new democracy in these countries is no longer necessary, that since the economy is capitalist the stage of revolution is directly for socialism. This is not only wrong, it is reactionary, because, in seeing only capitalism, they cover up imperialist exploitation and place imperialist countries and countries under imperialism on a par.

But the question here is: what is the path for revolution in these countries, to what extent are the lines of people's war and surrounding the cities from the countryside still applicable?

It can be said without doubt that the methods and lines applicable to predominantly agricultural countries are not applicable in the same way in these countries. We have already mentioned that in non-predominantly capitalist countries with significant capitalist development work in the cities and among the workers has gained importance, and that it might be possible to even start armed struggle through mass uprisings there, instead of by launching it in the countryside. This is all the more so in the case of the predominantly capitalist countries. And because these are predominantly capitalist countries, the peasantry, though still an important force, is no

longer the main revolutionary force here, nor is the countryside necessarily the centre of work. That is why it is probably no longer the case that armed struggle and armed organisation are principal throughout the entire period of revolution in these countries. Even so, it is quite possible that power cannot be captured all at once through armed uprising, so that after some kind of partial capture of power it may be necessary to wage a more or less protracted revolutionary war. Even a total capture of power may be reduced to a temporary victory, so that it may be necessary to retreat and go to the rural areas or areas where the enemy is weak so as to conduct protracted people's war.

In sum then, though the exact path of revolution in these countries is not clear, serious study of Mao's theory of New Democratic Revolution, protracted people's war and guerrilla war by the party of the proletariat and the education of the cadres workers and peasants in these theories, and the creative application of the path of people's war for preparing for and capturing power — these remain very important tasks for the party.

In these countries, because the workers and the cities are now principal, the task of educating the workers through the party organ(s) and through revolutionary mass movements and organisations has gained greater importance than ever.

Finally, only the development of truly revolutionary parties of the proletariat, based on Marxism-Leninism, will be able to ultimately give a correct answer to the exact path of revolution in these countries.



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